THE MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

BULLETIN 5



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Published by The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet)

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Published with the aid of a grant from Humanistiska Forskningsrådet

Editorial and Distribution Office:
Medelhavsmuseet, Storgatan 41, 114 55 Stockholm, Sweden

Stockholm 1969
Tryckeri AB Björkmans Eftr

Some Reliefs from the Memphite Necropolis

BENGT JULIUS PETERSON

Already in antiquity the tombs of the Memphite necropolis were successively destroyed. Their walls, adorned with reliefs and inscriptions, were, cut into suitable slabs, used as building material, especially in the Coptic monastery of Apa Jeremias nearby; or the limestone slabs disappeared in the villagers' limekilns.

From very remote times Memphis was one of the most important cities of Egypt; at times she was the dominating religious and political centre of the country. During the Empire Memphis was besides Thebes the capital, the residence of several pharaohs and Egypt's main military base. Furthermore she was the traditional centre of the Ptah cult, hence implying that Memphis was the site of spacious temple areas[1]. It is natural to find a fine and flourishing art here, where important men were patrons of art, and where an old tradition of art was still living in connection with the cult of Ptah[2]. But alas, the remains of ancient Memphis are few; the monuments from the Empire of value for the history of art are, apart from scanty architectural remains, mostly walls from tombs, often having been picked out from the ruins of the Apa Jeremias monastery.

During the Empire the main part of the Memphite necropolis was situated near the Teti pyramid extending south down to the monastery. The sites of the individual tombs are mostly unknown. In the early nineteenth century the pillage of this area began. Reliefs and statues were shipped to Europe, where the newly awakened interest in Egyptian art made them desirable for public as well as private collections. A vast number of reliefs have been found during archaeological investigations, many of them having been extracted from the Apa Jeremias monastery, mostly by J.E. Quibell[3]. Consequently this archaeological material has been known for a long time. And yet it has not been the subject of a comprehensive study, perhaps owing to the fact that the actual material is now scattered all over the world and is to a large extent unpublished.

In the early nineteenth century reliefs from Memphis found their way to Sweden too. Two fragments in Linköping are known[4], which were probably acquired about 1815 by the then chaplain to the Swedish Legation in Constantinople, and later dean, S.F. Lidman[5]. And to the Memphite material may be added the reliefs and inscriptions published in this

paper. They were most probably brought to Sweden in 1826 – the fact, however, cannot be established – as part of the gift of Egyptian antiquities presented to the then Royal Museum in Stockholm[6] by G. ANASTASI, Consul General in Egypt to the United Kingdoms of Sweden and Norway[7]. Having been transferred in 1866 to the then newly established National Museum the reliefs were in 1928 deposited with the then new Egyptian Museum of Stockholm, since 1954 the Egyptian Department of the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, MEDELHAVSMUSEET, where they are now kept. There are six limestone fragments (two of them made up of two pieces joined together) with the inventory numbers MM 32011–MM 32016[8]. Some of the slabs are rectangularly cut, indicating that they were once probably used as building material. The slabs are the following:

MM 32011 (NME 38). Limestone slab, 97 ×62 cm., from a wall with reliefs and inscriptions *en creux*[9]. (Fig. 1).

The bottom and the right side have a decorative framework[10]. There are two registers separated by a horizontal line. The lower register shows six men with offerings. Their heads are shaved. They are uniformly dressed in long skirts without pleating or any pattern. They have no sandals. From left to right they are bringing the following offerings: The first man, fragmentarily preserved, is leading a mammal, part of the back and tail of which are visible, and carrying stalks of lotus or papyrus. The second man has a winejar and two sacks, seemingly net-sacks of some kind. The third one is leading a male gazelle and is carrying on his arm a gazelle kid[11], while the fourth man on his raised hands is holding a tray with various food provisions, from which stalks of lotus are hanging down. The fifth and sixth men are bringing two sacks, stalks of lotus or papyrus and fowls.

The upper register shows the feet of a person fitted with sandals and dressed in a pleated garment. In front of the person there are seven fragmentary vertical lines of hieroglyphs. Behind the person is one line.

Commentary:

The inscriptions are fragments of the concluding part of spell 125 of the Book of the Dead. The lines are counted from the left.

Line 1 = E. NAVILLE, Das aegyptische Todtenbuch II, Berlin 1886, 125 (Schlussrede), 6.

Line 2 = E. NAVILLE, op. cit. II, 125 (Schlussrede), 6; following the text of Pb, but there without *mꜣʿ ḫrw* after the name.

Line 3 = E. NAVILLE, op. cit. II, 125 (Schlussrede), 7.

Line 4 = E. NAVILLE, op. cit. II, 125 (Schlussrede), 8. The plural strokes of the preceding word *wr.w* are also preserved.

Line 5 = E. NAVILLE, op. cit. II, 125 (Schlussrede), 9. Part of the preceding [hieroglyph] is preserved.

Line 6 = E: NAVILLE, op. cit. II, 125 (Schlussrede), 10. There remain the plural strokes of the preceding word *rmṯ*.

Line 7 = E. NAVILLE, op. cit. II, 125 (Schlussrede), 11.

Line 8 = E. NAVILLE, op. cit. II, 125 (Schlussrede), 11. The 𓏭 of the preceding *ỉỉ* is visible.

Translation:

Line 1: . . . I have done ⌈righteousness in Ta-meri⌉.

Line 2: . . . the justified . . .

Line 3: . . . who swallow . . .

Line 4: . . . day ⌈of the great judgement⌉.

Line 5: . . . There is no ⌈my⌉ (false) witness . . .

Line 6: . . . things ⌈with which the gods⌉ are content . . .

Line 7: . . . clothing to the naked one . . .

Line 8: ⌈Come⌉ in peace . . .



Fig. 1. Limestone slab. MM 32011.

MM 32012 (NME 38). Limestone slabs, the upper fragment 89 × 37 cm., the lower 110 × 41 cm., from a wall with reliefs and inscriptions *en creux*. Made up of two fragments joined together[12]. (Fig. 2).

The upper slab is badly damaged; its reliefs and inscriptions are partially obliterated. The lower slab is in good condition despite the poor quality of the limestone. Along the bottom part of the lower fragment is a framework of two bands[13]. There are two registers separated from each other by two horizontal lines.

The scene in the lower register shows five men proceeding with various offerings. The man in the very front, to the left, is a *stm*-priest, whose rank is shown by the panther skin he is wearing; its paws and tail are clearly visible. In one hand he is holding an incense-jar in the form of a sculptured hand in the end of a handle. With the other hand he has been holding a libation vessel – he is represented pouring water in order to cleanse the offerings in front of him – and the falling jet of water can be seen to the right just above the offerings. These include one head of cattle its legs bound, a fowl and fruits.

Like the other men the *stm*-priest has a shaved head and is wearing, besides his panther skin, like the others a long pleated skirt. All of them are without sandals. The man behind the *stm*-priest is carrying an altar-



Fig. 2. Limestone slabs. MM 32012

table with a high cone-shaped lamp[14] and stalks of papyrus. The third one is leading an *oryx gazella*, while the fourth one in his lifted hand is coming with two platters of incense[15]. The fifth man has an animal, one head of cattle, in a halter and stalks of lotus or papyrus.

Between the second and third man from the left there is an inscription of three vertical lines:

Translation: "His beloved servant who follows him."

Between the fourth and fifth men there is also an inscription of at least two vertical lines. However, there are only faint traces of hieroglyphic signs.

The upper register has an inscription of at least twelve vertical lines. They are now almost completely obliterated. As there are only some few signs readable, I am not giving a translation of the text.

MM 32013 (NME 37). Limestone slab 91 ×55 cm., from a wall with reliefs and inscriptions *en creux*. Made up of two fragments joined together[16]. (Fig. 3).

To the right is a fragmentary relief representing a standing man dressed in an intricately pleated, diaphanous garment of a type fairly common in the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. A sensitive and skilled work-

manship is shown in the execution of body and garment. In front of the man are eight vertical lines of hieroglyphs, behind him is one. The first three lines from the left contain passages of spell 182 of the Book of the Dead, while the other lines have passages of spell 183. The version of spell 182 must have been an abbreviated one; the end of that spell has probably been omitted. As these spells are rare, especially spell 183, they are of a certain interest[17]. The version here of spell 182 differs somewhat from texts earlier published.

Transcription:

From the left.

Line 1: . . . ⸢*ḥ*⸣ *ry tꜣwy sḥr* ⸢*ḏwt*⸣ *sḫpr nfrw bꜥh n mrwt=f tꜣwy wr* . . .

Line 2: . . . *ỉmntt wr bꜣw ꜥꜣ wrrt nḏm ỉb ꜥꜣ ꜣwt ỉb smꜣꜥ ḫrw m nꜣ*⸢*ỉrr=f*⸣ . . .

Line 3: . . . *ỉꜣy m ỉwnw dmd.n n=f nṯr nb mrwt=f sš* . . .

Line 4: . . . *ḏsr sḳꜣ ḥry- šꜥy=f ỉn wsỉr stm wr ḫrp* ⸢*ḥmt*⸣ . . .

Line 5: . . . *šmsw n ḏḥwty ḥꜥykw(y) m ỉrt.n=f nb ỉn.n=f n* . . .

Line 6: . . . *ḏsr rdỉ=f wbn šw ḥr šnbt=k sḥḏ=f n=k* . . .

Line 7: . . . *snwy dr=f n=k nšny ẖnnw* . . .

Line 8: . . . *=k špt* ⸢*r*⸣ *ỉbw=sn* . . .

Line 9: . . . *mỉ wḏ.n ỉt=k ptḥ tꜣ-ṯnn* . . .

Commentary:

Line 1: = BD 182, cf. L. SPELEERS, Le chapitre CLXXXII du Livre des Morts, Rec. de Trav. 40, 1923, pp. 86 ff. ⸣ , add *ḥr*-sign before, corresponds to:

,

"who governs the land", (Pap. Greenfield). *sḥr*, in the lacuna after this word insert *ḏwt*, "evil". Add *r* after the swallow (*wr*) in the bottom of the line.



Fig. 3. Limestone slab. MM 32013

Line 2: = BD 182, cf. L. SPELEERS, op. cit. The uppermost sign to the left is . The group has been . The last sign of the line is of the group , the beginning of the place-name Naref (cf. H. BONNET, Reallexikon, p. 506).

Line 3 = BD 182, cf. L. SPELEERS, op. cit. , an interesting writing of *i͗3w*, "adoration" because of the of the root *i͗3i͗*. Cf. E. EDEL, Beiträge zum ägyptischen Lexikon, ZÄS 79, 1954, pp. 87 f. *sš*, add the ending *ti͗* of the old perfective.

Line 4 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, Todtenbuch I, pl. CCIX, line 1. Before *ḏsr* add *t3*. In the lacuna after *sk3* add *ḥr*. *ḥry-šꜥ y=f*, cf. BD 142, e.g. Pap. Turin 142,24. Also in Amduat, cf. E. HORNUNG, Das Amduat. Die Schrift der verborgenen Raumes II, (=Ägyptologische Abhandlungen Bd 7), Wiesbaden 1963, p. 65 (number 194). *stm*, on this title cf. A. GARDINER, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I, Oxford 1947, pp. 39 ff; C. MAYSTRE, Sur les grands prêtres de Ptah, JNES 8, 1949, pp. 84 ff. *wr*, after *wr* traces of *ḫrp ḥmt*, which together form the title of the high priest of Ptah. On the title cf. A. GARDINER, op. cit. I, pp. 38 f., II, p. 269; C. MAYSTRE, op. cit.

Line 5 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, op. cit. I, pl. CCIX, line 4–5. In the end of the line traces of an *f* and an *n*.

Line 6 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, op. cit. I, pl. CCIX, line 8–9. Before *ḏsr* add *t3*. In the lacuna after *wbn* add the determinative ⊙ .

Line 7 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, op. cit. I, pl CCIX, line 11. After *nšny* the determinative. The damaged word at the end of the line is .

Line 8 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, op. cit. I, pl. CCIX, line 12. In the lacuna after *špt* add *r*.

Line 9 = BD 183, cf. E. NAVILLE, op. cit. I, pl. CCIX, line 14–15. is the determinative and plural strokes of *bi͗3t*, "iron".

After the name of Ptah traces of the determinative, the sitting god.

Translation:

Line 1: . . . the commander of the Two Lands, who drives [evil] away, who brings into being goodness and abundance because of his love to the Two Lands, who is great . . .

Line 2: . . . of the West, great of power, great of the crown (wrrt), sweet of heart, great of joy, who is justified in Na-[ref] . . .

Line 3: . . . adoration in Heliopolis. Every god has associated himself with him; his love is extending . . .

Line 4: . . . [the] holy [land]. "He who is on his sand-heap" is exalted by Osiris the *stm*-priest, Greatest of Master Craftsmen . . .

Line 5: . . . train of Thoth. I am rejoicing at all things which he has done. He has brought unto . . .

Line 6: . . . [the] holy [land]. He causes the sun to shine on your breast, he illuminates for you . . .

Line 7: . . . the two Horus brothers. He has destroyed for you disaster and uproar . . .

Line 8: . . . you the anger [from] their hearts . . .

Line 9: . . . [iron] according to the command of your father Ptah-Tatenen . . .

MM 32014 (NME 53). Fragment of a limestone jamb, 77 ×46 cm. Reliefs and inscriptions *en creux*[18]. (Fig. 4).

On the upper part there are four vertical lines of a main inscription, see Fig. 4.

Translation:

From the left.

Line 1: . . . Pahamnata, the justified.

Line 2: . . . [Greatest] of Master Craftsmen[19] Pahamnata, the justified.

Line 3: . . . [Greatest] of Master Craftsmen Pahamnata, the justified.

Line 4: . . . [Greatest] of Master Craftsmen Pahamnata, the justified.



Fig. 4. Fragment of a limestone jamb. MM 32014

Above the right figure of the two there is a carelessly carved inscription of three vertical lines:



Commentary:

The inscriptions of lines 1 and 2 are written as a retrograde inscription. Line *3* is normal.

Line 1: The position of *n* is explainable as an inversion of *ḥ3wt n ptḥ* (cf. Wörterbuch *3*, *226* [18] and Belegstellen *3*, p. 71).

Line 2: is the semi-hieratic form of . The latter sign often takes the place

of 𓂀 as a determinative, cf. A. GARDINER, Egyptian Grammar, p. 532 (X 4–5). For the name Ptahemhab, cf. H. RANKE, Personennamen I, 140:2.

Translation:
Line 1: The Master of Ptah's altar.
Line 2: Ptahemhab.
Line 3: the justified.

The two men represented on the lower part of the jamb are dressed in long skirts without pleating. The left one is distinguished by a wig, the right one is fitted with sandals.

The person to the left, very clumsily carved, is represented with both arms raised in an act of adoration. The man to the right is carrying two hand-braziers, filled with incense, and, under his arm, two pieces of lettuce. The head of this person is carefully hewn (Fig.5). It shows a sensitive modelling, and it has significant details such as the wrinkled forehead. The upper body, too, is rendered in a realistic way. Uncommon also is the direct side-view of his upper body. The man to the left may be Pahamnata himself, the other man is the less important of the two, a Master of Ptah's altar[20] as stated in the inscription.



Fig. 5. Detail from the reliefs on the fragment fig. 4

MM 32015 (NME 54). Limestone fragment from a wall with inscriptions *en creux*, 76 × 43 cm[21]. (Fig. 6).

The fragment, badly damaged especially in the upper part, contains four vertical lines of an inscription and traces of two more. The four lines have a fragmentarily preserved text.

Commentary:
From the right.
Line 1: The sign below the *m* could be part of a *t*.
Line 2: After the fragmentary *s* above, the text could be restored:
[hieroglyphs], "*stm*-priest in the House of Ptah". The curved line before *pr* is a damage to the stone. Before *ḥmt*, restore *ḫrp*.
Line 3: The first sign, badly damaged, is certainly [hieroglyph], being the end of the title [hieroglyphs] "*stm*-priest of the Mansion of Noblemen".
Line 4: Before *ḥmt*, restore the *ḫrp*-sign.

Translation:
Line 1: . . . his coming out from . . .
Line 2: . . . s[*tm*-priest in] the House of Ptah, Greatest of Master Craftsmen Pahamnata . . .
Line 3: . . . [*stm*-priest of] the Mansion of Noblemen, Greatest of Master Craftsmen Pahamnata . . .
Line 4: . . . his . . . Greatest of Master Craftsmen Pahamnata . . .

MM 32016 (NME 63). Limestone fragment from a wall, 49 × 44 cm[22]. (Fig. 7).

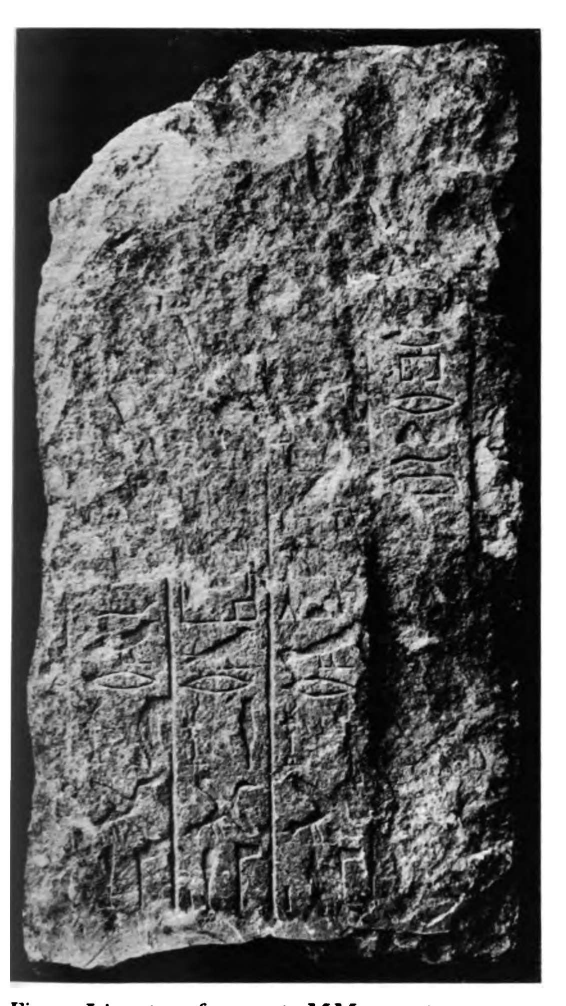


Fig. 6. Limestone fragment. MM 32015

The loose limestone is badly weathered. In the middle of the fragment is a relief *en creux* representing a standing male figure. One hand is raised in adoration, the other is carrying a bundle of lotus- or papyrus-stalks, which is on his shoulder. The man is dressed in a long pleated skirt and is adorned with a neck-collar.

There has been at least one vertical line of hieroglyphs to the right. The only signs preserved are those of the group , the name of the god Ptah.

Most of the Memphite tomb reliefs from the Empire are executed in limestone of good quality. During the eighteenth dynasty an independent and elegant technique developed in Memphis – in the finest tombs of very skilled workmanship with reliefs in sunk as well as in low relief. During the nineteenth dynasty this technical skill soon becomes conventional and stereotyped; the sunk reliefs, less difficult to sculpture, dominate.Strictly speaking,there is no material for comparison from other burial fields in Egypt. The Theban necropolis has quite different technical problems with its rock-tombs with walls mostly unsuitable for reliefs. The same problem as in Thebes does also occur in Amarna.

Among the Empire tombs at Memphis the oldest known are those of Ptahmose and Paatenemheb[23] from the time of Amenophis III–Amenophis IV. The artistic climax of the Memphite reliefs is shown by the tomb of the general, and later king, Haremhab, from which a large number of fragments is preserved[24]. This tomb was executed in the end of the Amarna age. The connections with the realism and individuality of the Amarna style



Fig. 7. Limestone fragment. MM 32016

are obvious[25]. Several of the scenes are worked in low relief, but many others in sunk relief. The use of sunk relief has made possible pictures with rapid shading-off and vivid impression and has given contrasting effects[26]. Especially the groups of persons represented in this tomb, besides similar scenes on two relief slabs in Berlin[27], show a dramatic concentration and an inspired pictorial relationship of the persons and their connections with each other[28]. Not least the representations of the human faces have a greater individuality than in any other tomb reliefs; there is a masterly shading-off technique, which creates the psychological tension.

Particularly in the Amarna tombs the profane scenes are dominant. In the Memphite tomb of Haremheb there are several scenes of private life. Gradually, however, the funerary scenes become more and more frequent, funerary scenes which often correspond to contemporary illustrations in copies of the Book of the Dead. And religious texts mostly accompany these scenes. This development is only partially evident in the fragmentarily preserved Memphite material, but it is apparent if one studies the abundant Theban material.

Simultaneously with the change in the motifs of tomb decorations – soon they are almost always derived from the religious sphere – one can observe an increasing stiffness in form and composition. The style becomes stereotyped and uninspired. This is of course dependent on the repetitive character of the religious motifs[29]. After a transitional period from the Amarna age to the beginning of the long reign of Ramesses II, when a stylistic influence of the Amarna age is still living as a reflex and when the representations still have a life and strength of their own, the stiff and lifeless style in the tomb reliefs begins, a style which is only too significative of the nineteenth dynasty and the following period of the Ramessides.

A similar stylistic development is evident in the contemporary royal art too, such as this can be seen in temple reliefs. After the end of the Amarna age there is an attachment to stylistic ideals which were dominant during the reign of Amenophis III. This backward-looking tendency is best displayed by the lifeless, insensitively polished representations in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, representations in a sterile and hieratic style. The living royal art of the nineteenth dynasty is exemplified in the big temple reliefs with a profane accent, which with representations of battles and royal sports form an independent genre, sharply contrasting with the increasingly stagnant tomb art.

The Memphite origin of the tomb reliefs here published is indisputable. Two of them (MM *32014* & MM *32015*) are inscribed with the name and title of a high priest of Ptah in Memphis, Pahamnata, whose tomb we must suppose to have been built in the Memphite necropolis. Because of the epigraphical similarity between MM *32015* and MM *32013*, the latter slab can be assigned to the same tomb; the correctness of such an attribution is partly confirmed by the title preserved on MM *32013*, "*stm*-priest, Greatest of Master Craftsmen . . ." Further MM *32011* could perhaps also be assigned to the tomb of Pahamnata because of its epigraphy. But MM *32012* and the unimportant fragment MM *32016* cannot be localized; there can, however, be no doubt of their Memphite origin, especially when they are compared with numerous parallels from that necropolis.

The style and the contents of the reliefs are conventional. The scenes representing offering-carriers and the accompanying religious texts always occur in the tombs. The scenes here published do not diverge from the traditional patterns. In style, on the other hand, they offer some interesting details. The technical execution of the human figures is generally of quite a fairly high quality; the

contours are clean and strong, the persons have a well-balanced carriage. There is, however, no elegance; the technical work is insensitive and routinary. But the artists have taken pains to produce a fine shading-off of the faces. On MM 32011, for instance, they are of a rather sensitive workmanship; they have indeed no individual features, but the work is serious and careful. The head of the Master of Ptah's altar Ptahemheb on MM 32014 has been meticulously hewn, in contrast to the sketchy representation of his body. The face has a realistic expression, portraying the old man with wrinkled forehead. Further also the upper part of his body shows a realistic representation. MM 32013 has a fragmentarily preserved but masterly picture of a human body. The diaphanous garment accentuates the body; the artist's skill is excellent. Details like these, the wellcharacterized faces in MM 32011 and MM 32014 and the sensuous body in MM 32013, are reflections of the artistic freedom and the tendency towards a strong desire to reproduce reality which were prevalent in art during the Amarna age. Still a faint echo from the time of art's liberation from the fetters of the traditional religious dogmas lives on. But the representations here set out are also examples showing how soon that free art broke down because of the changed attitude of the art patrons to the art they were purchasing; again the prescriptive forms became dominant, but details like those pointed out here disclose that the hands of the artists did not move as swiftly as the mutable thoughts of their patrons.

Two of the Stockholm monuments bear the name and title of the high priest Pahamnata, and a third one probably belonged to the tomb of the same person. There are, however, certain difficulties in establishing the date of this tomb, as we know of at least three high priests with this name. It is possible to distinguish some of their monuments:

I: One Pahamnata had probably been in office in the eighteenth dynasty. He belonged to the family of Ptahmose[30]. A statue in Firenze, Inv. No. 1730[31], of a high priest Ptahmose, mentions his son or descendant, the high priest Pahamnata. Ptahmose lived under Amenophis III and his statue had apparently been made during the reign of that king; its style, especially that of the face, is close to the style of portraits of Amenophis III.

II: Two Pahamnatas lived in the nineteenth dynasty, one in the beginning, one in the end of that dynasty. The datable monuments of them are:

a/ Pahamnata in the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty:

1/A statue published in PSBA 14, 1892, pp. 163 ff[32], mentions the high priest Pahamnata as father of the wazir Rahotep. This wazir lived in the end of the reign of Merneptah[33].

2/A stela in the British Museum, no. 183[34], mentions high priests of Memphis, among them Pahamnata. This stela, as H. KEES has suggested, is a monument of the Rahotep family and must be dated to the time of Ramesses II[35].

b/ Pahamnata in the end of the nineteenth dynasty:

1/A limestone statue in the Louvre, A 72[36], represents two seated men. They are the wazir Hori and the high priest Pahamnata. The relation of the two men is unknown. The statue is of Ramesside date as indicated by J. VANDIER[37]. H. KEES wants to date this Hori and thus the representation of this Pahamnata to the end of the nineteenth dynasty or the beginning of the twenteeth dynasty[38]. It cannot be disputed on stylistic grounds.

2/A stone pillar from a tomb represents the high priest Pahamnata on its four sides, Firenze no. 2607[39]. This Pahamnata is son of *Mḥj* and [hieroglyphs]. I am rather inclined to date this pillar to the end of the nine-

teenth dynasty on stylistic grounds. Also, as H. KEES has pointed out[40], there is a resemblance to the pillar of the high priest Hori, probably from hte beginning of the twenteeth dynasty, which was picked out from the Apa Jeremias monastry[41].

3/A granite stela in Cairo, Ent. 27322[42], mentions the high priest Pahamnata and four relatives, the connections of which are unknown. This stela has been ascribed to the nineteenth dynasty or later by H. KEES[43].

III: There are some other monuments, incompletely published, which it has not been possible for me to assign to any one of the three Pahamnata now mentioned. They are:

1/A granite sarcophagus with cover in the British Museum, no. 18[44]. It has belonged to the high priest Pahamnata and is ascribed to the nineteenth dynasty.

2/A wooden coffin in Berlin, no. 33[45], has belonged to the high priest Pahamnata. H. KEES suggests that this coffin and the London sarcophagus could have belonged to the same burial[46].

3/ Two fragments of an alabaster palette in Leiden, AAL 157[47].

In 1950, however, in a structure of Coptic date at the Apa Jeremias monastery, several slabs with reliefs and inscriptions were found, slabs bearing the name of the high priest Pahamnata[48]. Also a limestone statue in a niche of the same man was found[49]. As the slabs are not completely excavated nor published, it has not been possible to compare them with the previously known monuments of the Pahamnatas and to ascribe them to one of the high priests of this name. The statue, however, seems to be rather close to that of Pahamnata in the group statue Louvre A 72. Thus it ought to belong to the end of the nineteenth dynasty. But only after a thorough field investigation it will be possible to establish the date of these new Pahamnata monuments and perhaps to make clear the distribution of those already known.

On stylistic grounds one is inclined to ascribe the Stockholm monuments mentioning Pahamnata – only MM 32014 and MM 32013, the latter of uncertain attribution, are relevant – to the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty. Thus they have to be added to the list under II a above. But the criteria for a definitive dating are too weak and with the material now accessible the definitive ascription of the Stockholm reliefs is impossible. All of them have the stamp of the repetitious art of the nineteenth dynasty, but with their realistic features they fit well into the beginning of that dynasty. Repeated investigations in the Memphite necropolis, publication and comprehensive studies of the now widely scattered Memphite material could in the future lead to more exact datings and ascriptions.

[1] A survey of Memphis and her Antiquities in H. KEES, Ancient Egypt, A Cultural Topography, London 1961, pp. 147 ff.

[2] Cf. H. BONNET, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, p. 617; cf. also M. SANDMAN-HOLMBERG, The God Ptah, Lund 1946, pp. 54 ff.

[3] Cf. especially J.E. QUIBELL, Excavations at Saqqara (1908–9, 1909–10). The Monastery of Apa Jeremias, Cairo 1912.

[4] T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, De egyptiska relieferna i Linköpings stifts- och landsbibliotek, Linköpings Biblioteks Handlingar, N.S. Band 4:2, 1950, pp. 1–8.

[5] For S.F. Lidman, see B.J. PETERSON, Swedish Travellers in Egypt during the Period 1700–1850, Opuscula Atheniensia VII 1967, p. 14 ff.

[6] It is not possible to decide which reliefs were a part of the gift. In a letter of 1826 in the archives of the National Museum there is mention of: "fyrkantiga Kalkstens-Pilastrar af åtskilliga storlekar, föreställande i uphöjdt arbete offerscener, samt dessutom prydde med hieroglyphiske inhuggningar". In any case, what can be stated is that the reliefs came to Stockholm before 1868, when J.D.C. LIEBLEIN published his "Katalog öfver egyptiska fornlemningar i National-Museum", Stockholm 1868.

[7] On Anastasi and his work for the benefit of egyptology, cf. W.R. DAWSON, Anastasi, Sallier, and Harris and their Papyri, JEA 35, 1949, pp. 158 ff.

[8] The earlier inventory numbers of the National Museum are given below as NME.

[9] Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, op. cit., pp. 25 f. The inscriptions have been incompletely reproduced by M. MOGENSEN, Stèles égyptiennes au Musée National de Stockholm, Copenhagen 1919, pp. 41 f. Both LIEBLEIN and MOGENSEN thought that this slab belonged to MM 32012. This is, however, incorrect.



[10]Cf. J. VANDIER, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV, Paris 1964, pp. 41 ff. There are several parallels in Memphite tombs of the 18th and 19th dynasties, cf. e.g. QUIBELL, op. cit., pl. LXXI–LXXIV.

[11]For gazelles as offerings, cf. H. KEES, Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Ägypter und seiner Symbolik, Nachrichten von der Akad. d. Wiss. in Göttingen, Philologisch-Hist. Klasse, 1942:2, pp. 72 f.

[12]Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, op. cit., pp. 25 f. The inscriptions have been incompletely reproduced by MOGENSEN, op. cit., pp. 41 f. Both of them thought that this slab belonged to MM 32011. Cf. above note 9.

[13]Cf. above note 10.

[14]Cf. N. DE G. DAVIES, A Peculiar Form of a New Kingdom Lamp, JEA 10, 1924, pp. 9 ff.

[15]Cf. *idem*, Seven Private Tombs at Kurnah (Mond Excavations at Thebes II), London 1948, pl. XXIV (left) and p. 34.

[16]Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, op. cit., p. 25. The inscriptions have been incompletely reproduced by MOGENSEN, op. cit., pp. 27 f.

[17]One of the above-mentioned reliefs in Linköping also has some passages of spell 182, cf. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, op. cit., pl. 2.

[18]Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, op. cit., p. 28.

[19]Emending with *wr* before the group *ḥrp ḥmt*.

[20]A less important official, as can be seen on the Berlin relief 12411, where such an official is depicted, cf. A. ERMAN, Aus dem Grabe eines Hohenpriesters von Memphis, ZÄS 33,1895, p. 19 and pl. I. Judging from that relief, according to the position and attitude of the man, he is not among the higher officials.

[21]Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, op. cit., p. 28.

[22]Mentioned by LIEBLEIN, op. cit., p. 30.

[23]B. PORTER & R. MOSS, Topographical Bibliography etc. III, Oxford 1931, p. 191.

[24]Idem, op. cit., pp. 195 ff.; for more recent works on the tomb of Haremheb, cf. W. WOLF, Die Kunst Ägyptens, Stuttgart 1957, p. 706, note 42.

[25]After the disorganization of the Amarna court its artists were most probably employed in Thebes and Memphis, cf. *idem*, op. cit., p. 535.

[26]Cf. L. CURTIUS, Die Antike Kunst I, Ägypten und Vorderasien (= Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft), Berlin-Neubabelsberg 1923, p. 190.

[27]Above all Berlin 12411; PORTER & MOSS, op. cit., III, p. 197; WOLF, op. cit., p. 707, note 48.

[28]Cf. CURTIUS, op. cit., p. 173.

[29]Cf. N. DE G. DAVIES, Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes, New York 1927, p. XVI: "What inspiration could an artist find in gods and demons, temple furniture and rites, and the worshiping figures of his patron's family? Interesting episodes are nearly always the best painted, and many a dull tomb . . . wakes into beauty and brightness as it touches a dramatic scene. But these get rarer and rarer."

[30]Cf. R. ANTHES, Die hohen Beamten namens Ptahmose in der 18. Dynastie, ZÄS, 72, 1936, pp. 60 ff.

[31]*Ibidem*, p. 62. Professor G. CAPUTO has most kindly sent me photographs of this statue and also of the pillar Firenze 2607 mentioned below.

[32]Cf. J.D.C. LIEBLEIN, Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques, Supplement, Leipzig 1892, 2562; W. HELCK, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs (= Probleme der Ägyptologie 3), Leiden-Köln 1958, pp. 319 f., cf. also pp. 453 ff.

[33]Cf. HELCK, op. cit., pp. 318 ff.

[34]BRITISH MUSEUM, A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture), London 1909, p. 203; LIEBLEIN, op. cit., Christiania-Leipzig 1871, 997.

[35]H. KEES, Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat vom Neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit (= Probleme der Ägyptologie 1), Leiden-Köln 1953, p. 103, p. 64, note 4.

[36]LIEBLEIN, op. cit., 2051; J. VANDIER, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III, Paris 1958, pp. 482, 494, 496, 534 and Album de planches pl. CXLV:6; cf. A. WEIL, Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches, Strassburg 1908, p. 109 and HELCK, op. cit., p. 328.

[37]VANDIER, op. cit., pp. 482 and 494.

[38]KEES, op. cit., p. 114; so also HELCK, op. cit., p. 329.

[39]Two of its sides are reproduced by A. HERMANN, Eine ungewöhnliche Gesichtsdarstellung des Neuen Reiches, ZÄS 75,1939, pl. VIII a.

[40]KEES, op. cit., p. 114, note 2.

[41]QUIBELL, op. cit., pl. LXX.

[42]G. DARESSY, Remarques et notes, Rec. de Trav. 10, 1888, p. 150; cf. HELCK, op. cit., p. 320, note 1. But HELCK erroneously assigns the stela to the Firenze museum.

[43]KEES, op. cit., p. 64: Nachträge, Leiden-Köln 1958, p. 11.

[44]BRITISH MUSEUM, Guide (Sculpture), p. 182. From the former Anastasi collection. H. RANKE, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I. Glückstadt 1935, p. 115:16 refers to this coffin as "Spät".

[45]G. ROEDER, Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin II, Leipzig 1924, pp. 374 ff.

[46]KEES, op. cit., p. 112, note 1.

[47]C. LEEMANS, Description raisonné des monumens égyptiens du Musée d'antiquités des Pays Bas, Leiden 1840, p. 110.

[48]J. LECLANT, Compte rendu des fouilles et travaux menés en Égypte durant les campagnes 1948–1950, Orientalia N.S. 19, 1950, p. 492 and pl. LV. For this and some other references I am indebted to Dr ROSALIND MOSS, Oxford.

[49]*Idem*, op. cit., pl. LVI. The statue now in the Cairo museum, Ent. 89046.

A Red Lustrous Wheel-made Spindle Bottle and its Contents

PAUL ÅSTRÖM

The Swedish physician Johan Hedenborg[1] (1787–1865), who lived in Rhodes for many years, acquired during his travels in Egypt, Cyprus and the Near East many antiquities which he sent to Swedish museums. Some of the objects first found their way to the National Museum and the Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities in Stockholm, but they have recently been transferred to the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet) in Stockholm[2]. The collection includes *inter alia* Egyptian pottery and stone vases; Cypriote pots of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and of the Iron Age[3]; two Corinthian aryballoi and stamped amphora handles, probably from Rhodes; a Mycenaean III A 1 alabastron-shaped vase, possibly from Egypt[4]; a fragmentary Latin inscription with the name of Trajan.

The collection also includes two Red Lustrous Wheel-made spindle-shaped bottles. One of the bottles will be illustrated in the forthcoming volume IV:1C of The Swedish Cyprus Expedition[5]; the other bottle[6] is of special interest, not least because of its contents, and will therefore be discussed in detail below.

The bottle (see Fig. 1) has a very tall, narrow, spindle-shaped body, tapering to the base, which is ring-shaped with conical exterior. The neck is high and narrow and tapers upward to a flat, carinated rim. The fairly flat, vertical handle (with sharp edges) is attached to the upper part of the neck and to the shoulder. The centre of the base is slightly raised on the interior and a pot-mark consisting of a cross (Fig. 2) was incised on it before the firing. The neck, handle and body have been vertically knife-trimmed before firing. The light brown clay is homogeneous and extremely finely mixed, containing mica and a few particles of white grit. The red slip is vertically burnished to a very high lustre. The bottle is 39.5 cm. high and its maximum width is 6.5 cm. The vase was broken into several pieces (Fig. 3) but has been mended recently. It contained a black resinous substance (see further below). The provenance of the bottle is unknown.

The bottle belongs to type 1b of Sjöqvist's typology[7]. There are nine examples from Cyprus of about the same shape and size as Hedenborg's bottle[8]. One of these parallels is from Hala Sultan Tekke in Cyprus and has the same type of pot-mark incised on the base before firing[9]. The same pot-mark also occurs





Fig. 1–3. Red lustrous wheel-made vase. MM SHM 607:172
Fig. 1. The restored bottle; Fig. 2. The base with the pot-mark; Fig. 3. Original condition of the bottle.



on the lowest part of the handle of a lentoid flask from the Bronze Age Sanctuary at Ayios Iakovos[10]. This is a sign in the Cypro-Minoan syllabary[11], but it is common enough as a pottery mark presumably without a sign-value[12]. It is possible that the pot-marks on the two above-mentioned Red Lustrous Wheel-made vases were made by the same potter or in the same workshop.

It is not yet possible to prove where Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware was manufactured.[13] The ware is most frequently found in Cyprus with about 350 recorded items, followed by Anatolia and Egypt with about 100 occurrences each, North Syria with about half that number, Palestine with about a dozen specimens and finally by the Aegean area, where Crete and Rhodes have yielded one example each. The specimens found in Palestine and in the Aegean area are undoubtedly imports. It remains for us to discuss the other areas as possible centres of manufacture of this fabric.

It may be significant that Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware is most frequent in Cyprus, although the intensive archaeological activity in the island may account for the great number. All the known types of the fabric have been found in Cyprus and – what is more important – there are specific shapes which occur only in the island. Bowls, jars, biconical and ovoid jugs and the tankard are known only from Cyprus. The ware is so common at a site such as Hala Sultan Tekke, as surface surveys show[14], that it is not out of the question that is was manufactured there either by Cypriote or foreign potters. It is also significant that about a dozen of the pot-marks occurring on Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware are equivalent to signs in the Cypro-Minoan syllabary, while about half a dozen of these also correspond to signs in the Cypro-Minoan variety at Ras Shamra; the remaining pot-marks were probably incised by potters who could not write.

While tall bottles are known in the Middle Cypriote Bronze Age[15], the lentoid pilgrim flask is probably of Anatolian derivation. The spindle bottle is not so common in Anatolia, while Red Lustrous Wheel-made libation vessels are abundantly represented there[16]. Some of the latter are considered to have been locally made, but a North Syrian origin is proposed for the others. It should be noted that no Late Cypriote pottery has been recorded from central Anatolia and the inference may be that Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware did not reach Anatolia from Cyprus, at least not directly. The Hittite Red Burnished Ware may be an ancestor of the fabric. An unusual spindle-shaped bottle from Enkomi in Cyprus has an exact counterpart at Tarsus[17].

Syria is usually claimed to be the home of the Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware. It is well represented at Alalakh and Ugarit, but Woolley did not believe that it was made at the former site[18]. The Red Burnished Wheel-made Ware of the Middle Bronze Age may be a prototype of it; the broad-shouldered jug with conical body[19] may well be the ancestor of the spindle bottle with broad shoulder.

Red Polished Ware of almost the same quality as Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware was made in Egypt before the New Kingdom. Stewart's [20] impressions and my own, after having seen the rich repertory of shapes of Red Polished – Red Lustrous Ware in Egypt, were that Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware as a fabric may have evolved from Egyptian prototypes. Whether it was manufactured there is another question; it was at any rate imitated there[21]. The spindle bottle is probably depicted on Egyptian tomb paintings among foreign, perhaps Syrian, tribute-bearers[22].

Perhaps we shall have to envisage more than one manufacturing centre for Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware. Schaeffer has suggested that it was made both in Cyprus and in Syria[23], Stewart that it was manufactured

at several sites in Western Asia and Egypt[24]. It is an international ware in a period of lively contacts. Egyptian, Hittite, Syrian and Cypriote ingredients formed part of its creation. The sole place in the Late Bronze Age where the mixing of styles and forms from many areas is characteristic and normal, is Cyprus, situated as it is in focus. If there was only one manufacturing centre, this was likely to be in Cyprus, while Syria is another candidate.

Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware occurs in Cyprus from Late Cypriote IB to IIC or c. 1525–1225 and in Syria it is of about the same date; in Cyprus there are a few later stray occurrences of sherds from Enkomi and Sinda. In Egypt the ware possibly occurs already in the late phase of the Second Intermediate period and it disappears at the end of the fourteenth century[25]. In Anatolia the ware is fashionable from the late fifteenth to the thirteenth century. The broad-shouldered bottle is – as Schaeffer has observed – earlier than the slender type[26]. It is true that the slender type appears almost simultaneously in Late Cypriote IB, but it outlives the broad type. The date for Hedenborg's bottle cannot be precisely given. The Cypriote parallels to it of known contexts date from the end of the fifteenth and the fourteenth century; the lentoid bottle with the same pot-mark comes from the Bronze Age Sanctuary at Ayios Iakovos which is well dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth century B.C.

Hedenborg's spindle bottle is particularly interesting because of its contents (see Fig. 3). Dr. O. Arrhenius suggested in a letter of the 25th October, 1962, that the contents "seemed to be some kind of asphalt or bitumen". Professor Holger Arbman has informed me that Hjalmar Ljung once analyzed the contents, but his report of the results can no longer be found. A new analysis has been made by Margareta Viklund, who suggests that some kind of reducing sugar is present. Dr. Karl Afzelius suggests that the contents were honey. See Appendix I–II below for further details.

This is not the first Red Lustrous Wheel-made bottle which has its contents preserved. A spindle bottle from Ras Shamra contained a resinous deposit[27]. A broad-shouldered bottle from Deir el Medineh contained a "liquide huileux et visqueux de couleur brune", and other bottles from the same site contained greasy or oily liquids or a substance resembling resin[28]. The contents of a lentoid flask with two handles from Enkomi Tomb 98 were analyzed for me by Dr. O. Arrhenius, who could not find anything but a clayey substance in it; he informed me that clay is sometimes used as fixative for perfume[29]. Red Lustrous Wheel-made pots from Egypt analyzed on Merrillees' initiative contained fat[30]. It is then clear that the contents of these vases were not always the same.

F. von Bissing suggested that Red Lustrous Wheel-made bottles contained oils and resins just as the Mycenaean stirrup jars did[31]. Information about the contents of pottery is so rare that some references may be given here. A stirrup jar from a collection formed in Egypt contained some preparation of coconut oil[32]. The big stirrup jars from the so-called House of the Oil merchant at Mycenae probably contained perfumes and unguents[33]. A Black Lustrous Wheel-made juglet from Balabish contained ointment with a sweet scent[34]. A Base-ring II juglet from Tell el-Amarna contained a dark brown viscous vegetable oil, the identity of which could not be determined[35]. Other Base-ring juglets contained wax and fat and possibly opium[36]. Resin has been found in wine jars and in a Black slip II bowl from Cyprus[37]. A black resinous pitch was smeared on the interior of a (wine?) jar from Kalopsidha to make it impermeable[38]. It would no doubt be a rewarding task for a chemist to undertake a systematic analysis of the contents of ancient vases.

[1]For biographical details see A.W. Persson, Med hacka och med spade, Stockholm 1934; Svenska män och kvinnor, Biografisk uppslagsbok, 3, Stockholm 1946, pp. 349–350 (biography by S. Lindman); Vår svenska stam på utländsk mark, Stockholm 1952–1953, I, p. 457; III, pp. 172, 263; T.J. Arne, Svenskarna och österlandet, Stockholm 1952; S. Rabe, Rhodos, Stockholm 1964. A biography of Johan Hedenborg has been written by Arne Holmberg. On Hedenborg in Egypt see a recent paper by B.J. Peterson in Opuscula Atheniensia VII. An effort is now being made to publish Hedenborg's *magnum opus*, a history of Rhodes in several volumes; a description of that manuscript was given by the writer in the newspaper Sydsvenska Dagbladet, Malmö, 12 August 1959.

[2]Inv. no. 607. There are ancient coins collected by Hedenborg in the Royal Coin Cabinet and material pertaining to ethnography and natural history is preserved in Stockholm's Riksmuseum. The University of Uppsala, the Royal Library and other institutions also received material from Hedenborg.

[3]White Painted Ware, Base-ring I–II, and a barrel-shaped jug of Black Polished III (V) Ware. Some of the pots, MM SHM 607:184a–e, were said to be from "Atlyenia", Cyprus, which could be an error for Athienou.

[4]To judge by its somewhat dark and oily consistency; organic matter was better preserved in Egypt than elsewhere. Cf. A. Furumark, The Mycenaean Pottery, Stockholm 1941, type 84, p. 597, with a variant of motif 32 (rock-pattern) on the shoulder and with concentric circles on the base, cf. ibid., p. 405.

[5]As fig. LIV:6. MM SHM 607:5. Height 31 cm., width of body 8.6 cm.

[6]Medelhavsmuseet, inv. no. MM SHM 607:172.

[7]E. Sjöqvist, Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age, Stockholm 1940, p. 53, fig. 13.

[8]Enkomi Tomb 12 nos. 13 and 14; Enkomi Tomb 76 (Cyprus Museum inv. no. A 1414); Katydhata Tomb 5 no. 9; Hala Sultan Tekke Tomb XI (Cyprus Museum inv. no. A 1415); F. Behn, Vorhellenistische Altertümer der östlichen Mittelmeerländer, Mainz 1913, p. 90, no. 715; Art Museum, Princeton, inv. no. 29–79; Art Museum, Seattle, inv. no. 20.15; Archaeological Institute, Turin, inv. no. 8064.

[9]Cyprus Museum, inv. no. A 1415. Opuscula Atheniensia V, p. 117.

[10]Unpublished, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm. From Square E, 0–20. Cf. also J.L. Myres, Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus, New York 1913, p. 41, no. 378, with a short vertical incision to the left of the cross, perhaps accidental (personal examination). See also C.F.A. Schaeffer, Ugaritica II, Paris 1949, fig. 96:1c, 1e, for crosses combined with an incised line.

[11]See M. Ventris & J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek, Cambridge 1956, p. 62, fig. 11. The sign also occurs in the script of Cypro-Minoan character found at Ras Shamra, ibid. and O. Masson in C.F.A. Schaeffer, Ugaritica III, Paris 1956, p. 245, fig. 213.

[12]The Cypriote material is assembled in the writer's Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology II, Lund 1966.

[13]For a recent summary of the opinions on the origin of this ware see R.S. Merrillees, Bronze Age Spindle Bottles from the Levant, in Opuscula Atheniensia IV, pp. 187–197. For further references see The Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV:1C.

[14]Cf. Opuscula Atheniensia IV, p. 163, no. 90; V, pp. 117, 119, n. 11. There are many fragments of Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware from this site in Lund and Oxford.

[15]P. Åström, The Middle Cypriote Bronze Age, Lund 1957, fig. XIV.

[16]F. Fischer, Die hethitische Keramik von Bogazköy, Berlin 1963; K. Bittel et alii, Bogazköy III, Berlin 1957, pp. 33 ff. Cf. also American Journal of Archaeology 51, 1947, p. 155, fig. 3, Pl. XXXVIc for a bottle and a flask in Hittite pottery.

[17]C.F.A. Schaeffer, Enkomi-Alasia I, Paris 1952, fig. 42:10; H. Goldman, Tarsus II, Princeton 1956, fig. 385: 1191.

[18]L. Woolley, Alalakh, Oxford 1955, pp. 360 f.

[19]C.F.A. Schaeffer, Ugaritica I, Paris 1939, p. 60, fig. 48.

[20]American Journal of Archaeology 64, 1960, p. 291.

[21]See R.S. Merrillees, Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery Found in Egypt, Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology XVIII, Lund 1968.

[22]J. Vercoutter, L'Egypte et le monde égéen préhellénique, Cairo 1956; R.S. Merrillees, op. cit.

[23]C.F.A. Schaeffer, Ugaritica III, Paris 1956, p. 234, n. 4.

[24]Cf. above n. 20.

[25]R.S. Merrillees, op. cit.

[26]C.F.A. Schaeffer, Missions en Chypre, Paris 1936, p. 73; *Idem*, Stratigraphie comparée, London 1948, p. 378. Contra: E. Sjöqvist, op. cit., p. 103, n. 4.

[27]C.F.A. Schaeffer, Ugaritica II, p. 228, text to fig. 1h.

[28]For references see R.S. Merrillees, op. cit.

[29]An analysis by Dr. Arrhenius of clay of oily consistency inside a Mycenaean III A 2 stirrup jar from Dendra Tomb 14, excavated in 1962, gave the same result. – The flask from Enkomi Tomb 98 (Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, inv. no. A 1404) was illustrated by E. Gjerstad, Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus, Uppsala 1926, p. 203, Red Lustrous III Ware, 2.

[30]R.S. Merrillees, op. cit. A Red Lustrous Wheel-made spindle bottle in Toronto is still sealed and contains its original oil, see D.M. Robinson et alii, A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology Toronto, Toronto 1939, pp. 18 f., no. 73.

[31]Jahrbuch XIII, 1898, p. 55.

[32]American Journal of Archaeology X, 1906, pp. 300–301.

[33]L.P. Palmer, Mycenaeans and Minoans, London 1961, pp. 108 f., 170.

[34]G.A. Wainwright, Balabish, London 1920, pp. 61, 66, n. 4, 5; Opuscula Atheniensia IV, p. 218, n. 1. There is a fat, yellow matter inside a jug of the same fabric from Enkomi Tomb 3, supplement (in Stockholm, not yet analyzed).

[35]A. Lucas, Ancient Egyptian Materials & Industries, 3rd rev. ed., London 1959, p. 380; 4th ed.. London 1962, p. 328.

[36]References in R. S. Merrillees, op. cit.

[37]Opuscula Atheniensia IV, pp. 229 f.

[38]See the writer's publication, quoted in note 12, p. 44.

APPENDIX I

Extract from a report of *Margareta Viklund*, January, 1966.

Chemical analysis by the wet method has been carried out and analyses of a number of inorganic substances have given a negative result.

Combustion tests showed that the substance burned readily with a smokeless or blue flame and was carbonized into a residue of greyish white ash. The sample melted and bubbled during combustion and a smell, not directly characteristic, was observed. This result indicates that it is a question of an organic material, the aliphatic compound and the bubbling possibly being due to the presence of sugar. A distinct reduction effect was noticeable through the decoloration of potassium permanganate. A weak reduction effect could also be noted when copper was reduced in different solutions containing copper (II) sulphate, which could indicate the presence of some kind of reducing sugar. Analyses of other organic compounds have given a negative result.

In both microscopic and macroscopic study certain parts appear to consist of quantities of ball-shaped particles. This observation and the above results lead to the assumption that the contents are some kind of fruit. The small round particles, which are the size of fig-seeds, would then be fruit seeds.

APPENDIX II

Extract from letter of 23rd February, 1966, from *Dr. Karl Afzelius* to Dr. O. Vessberg.

I have let the material stand in cold water for a long time to test its solubility. After some days the water takes on a yellowish colour, but the material appears to be largely insoluble. When boiling it dissolves to some extent, and the liquid acquires a brownish yellow colour and gives off a not easily identifiable smell, which could perhaps be described as oily. The liquid is viscous and deposits on the walls of a pottery bowl a yellowish brown layer which, when dried, is extremely difficult to remove with cold water but on the other hand is very readily soluble in warm water. These observations gave me a sudden idea that it could conceivably be honey, which had dried up and during the long lapse of time and possible variations in climate and weather had hardened stiff and changed in consistency. The chemical analysis has indicated the presence of reducing sugar, and that is just what honey consists of. In examining very many samples of solid material in varying degrees of disintegration and at both weak and stronger magnifications I have not as yet succeeded in finding any solid and clearly defined particles that might be interpreted as seeds or the like, nor any distinct cellular structures, the whole substance appearing to consists in my view of an amorphous mass, which might indicate that it had originally been some substance such as honey for instance, which as it hardened may first be thought to have assumed a crystalline structure that in course of time disappeared. This idea about honey is naturally mere conjecture.

Uschebtis aus der ägyptischen Spätzeit

STEN V. WÅNGSTEDT

Das Uschebti, unter welchem Namen die kleine, meistens mumienförmige[1], aus verschiedenem Material hergestellte Figur geht[2], welche dem Toten als Beigabe mitgegeben wurde, erscheint zum ersten Mal im Mittleren Reich (2133–1786 v. Chr.)[3]. Die Anzahl ist anfangs begrenzt, was auch für das Ende der 2. Zwischenzeit (17, Dynastie [1680 (?)–1580 v. Chr.]) gilt, als es wieder auftaucht, so wie in der 18. Dynastie (1580–1314 v. Chr.). In der letzteren Hälfte der 18. Dynastie werden in einzelnen Fällen dem Toten mehrere Uschebtifiguren mitgegeben, und mit dem Ausgang der Dynastie wird dies zur Regel[4]. Die Anzahl wechselt stark, und häufig sind Hunderte von Figuren in einem und demselben Grab gefunden worden.

Das Uschebti des Mittleren Reichs erscheint ab und an mit Symbolen in den Händen[5]. Die Symbole, die sich auch in der 18. Dynastie halten, überlassen in der zweiten Hälfte der Dynastie ihren Platz Ackerbaugeräten: die Breithaue und die Spitzhacke, entweder allein oder zusammen. Später erhalten die Hauen fast ausnahmslos die Spitzform. Von der 25. Dynastie an (751–656 v. Chr.) ist die eine Spitzhacke durch einen anderen Typ mit kurzer, spitzer Klaue ersetzt worden. Ausser den Hauen werden andere Attribute hinzugefügt: geflochtener Korb, zwei Krüge mit Tragriemen, Ziegelform, Kübel, und in der 19. Dynastie (1314–1200 v. Chr.) Joch mit Wasserkrügen[6]. Bis auf den Korb verschwinden diese Attribute mit dem Ausgang der 19. Dynastie.

Die Aufschrift ist dem zu Gebote stehenden Raum angepasst. Wenn dieser ungenügend gewesen ist, hat man sich damit begnügt, den Namen des Toten, allein oder mit Titel(n)[7], nebst im allgemeinen dem Namen der Mutter anzugeben[8]. Soweit Platz vorhanden war, ist das 6. Kapitel des ägyptischen Totenbuchs, entweder im ganzen oder mehr oder weniger stark abgekürtz, wiedergegeben. Auf den Uschebtis kommt der Totenbuchtext in sechs Versionen vor[9]. Die letzte Version, die saitische, welche auf Uschebtis der 26. Dynastie erscheint, lautet[10]:

Vorschrift des Osiris NN, der Selige. Er sagt: „O diese Uschebtis. Wenn Osiris NN, der Selige, aufgezählt wird um alle Arbeiten zu tun, die in der Unterwelt zu tun sind – siehe, Hindernisse sind dort errichtet – als ein Mann bei seinen Pflichten, „Hier bin ich!" sollt ihr sagen. Wenn ihr aufgezählt werdet zu jeder Zeit (um) dort tätig zu sein, um (das) Feld zu bestellen, um (das) Uferland zu bewässern, um (den) Sand von Westen nach Osten zu transportieren und umgekehrt, „Hier bin ich!" sollt ihr sagen."

Wie aus dem Text hervorgeht, wird von dem Uschebti die Verrichtung verschiedener Ackerarbeit im Jenseits gerfordert – eine Tätigkeit, welche auch durch seine Geräte unterstrichen wird. Es liegt deswegen nahe, das Uschebti als Dienerfigur (oder Sklave) zu betrachten. Diese Funktion geht auch aus den Aufschriften „Diener der (Frau) *tꜣ-wẖd*"[11] bzw. „ O Uschebti, Diener seines Herrn, bei jeder Arbeit, die ausgeführt werden muss in der Unterwelt"[12], hervor. Die Funktion des Erdarbeiters ist von den Dienerfiguren übernommen, welche bis in das Mittlere Reich häufig, später nur selten auftreten. Die Dienerfiguren stellen u.a. Erdarbeiter dar, und die Ackerbaugeräte der späteren Uschebtis sind auf diese Dienerfunktion zurückzuführen.

Das Uschebti ist aber nicht einzig und allein als Dienerfigur aufzufassen. Es ist auch Stellvertreter des Toten selbst[13]. In seiner Eigenschaft als Substitut ist das Uschebti an Stelle der in den Gräbern des Alten Reichs aufgestellten Statuen getreten. Die Mumienform des Uschebtis ist von dem Osirisglauben, dessen Ansehen im Mittleren Reich immer mehr zunahm, beeinflusst, und der Wunsch, sich dem Gott Osiris, dem Herrscher des Totenreichs, anzugleichen, führt schliesslich dazu, dass der Tote mit dem Gott selbst identifiziert wird[14] – eine Identifizierung, welche in der Aufschrift des Uschebtis durch die Bezeichnung des Toten als „Osiris" zum Ausdruck kommt.

Die Arbeit, welche im Jenseits ausgeführt werden muss, ist in der Aufschrift des Uschebtis genau spezifiziert. Der Tote soll, wie im Erdenleben von dem Ackerbauer verlangt wurde, die Felder bestellen, bei niedrigem Wasserstand die Äcker des Uferlands bewässern, und – wie es heisst – „den Sand von Westen nach Osten transportieren und umgekehrt", mit welcher Phrase wahrscheinlich das Fortschaffen des Wüstensands von den Feldern gemeint ist[15].

Die im Medelhavsmuseet befindliche Sammlung ägyptischer Uschebtifiguren ist zahlenmässig ziemlich bescheiden. Etwa fünfzig Figuren sind unbeschriftet. Von den beschrifteten – etwa einhundertsechzig – sind gegen sechzig der 18. bis 21. Dynastie (1580–950 v. Chr.) zuzuschreiben, während vierundneunzig der 26. Dynastie (663–525 v. Chr.) oder später zuzuweisen sind[16].

Die im Folgenden veröffentlichten siebenundzwanzig Figuren sind eine Auswahl der letzten Gruppe. Die Inventarbezeichnungen bedeuten: MM Medelhavsmuseet, NME Nationalmuseum und SHM Statens historiska museum.

1. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. NME 120. (Fig. 1).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Hellgrün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 189 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Fuss fehlt; im übrigen unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für eine Person namens *ꜥnḫ-ḥkꜣ*, Sohn der Hausfrau *nb-mꜣꜥ.t*(?)*-ḥr-ỉḥs*, gemacht, die die Titel, „Domänenvorsteher", „Sprecher des Königs" führt. Ein zweites Uschebti des *ꜥnḫ-ḥkꜣ* findet sich in der Vatikan-Sammlung[17]. Über den Fundort der Figur liegt keine Auskunft vor. Der Name *ꜥnḫ-ḥkꜣ* [wörtl. „Es lebt (der Gott) Heka"] deutet aber darauf hin, dass der Fundort wahrscheinlich in dem Nekropolengebiet von Memphis, in welchem ein dem Gott Heka (in der Spätzeit als Sohn des Ptah und der Sachmet betrachtet) geweihtes Heiligtum gelegen war, zu suchen ist[18].

2. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. NME 191 (Fig. 2).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Blassgrün, mit gelbbraunen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 207 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Fuss fehlt; geringe Beschädigungen an Händen, Gesicht und Hauen.
Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; schlecht eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Der Priester *wꜣḥ-ib-rꜥ*, Sohn des Vorstehers der Leinen *ḥr-wḏꜣ* und *tꜣ-ḫwtj*, ist von einem der Turiner-Sammlung gehörigen Uschebti (Nr. 2694) bekannt. *wꜣḥ-ỉb-rꜥ* nennt sich hier (NME 191) „Priester des *ḫnp-ib-mr=f-wꜥ*"[19], „Priester des *ỉꜣ.t-…-bjk*"[20], „Vorsteher der Leinen", während das Turiner-Uschebti ihn als „Priester des *ḫnp-ỉb-mr=f-wꜥ*", „Priester des Nefertum", „Vorsteher der Leinen"

bezeichnet[21]. Das folgende Uschebti (Nr. 3) scheint auch diesem *wꜣḥ-ỉb-rꜥ* zu gehören.

3. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. NME 119. (Fig. 3).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Grün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 160 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Fuss fehlt; Bart und rechte Haue etwas beschädigt.
Herstellung: Sehr gut; wenig sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:



Fig. 1. NME 120



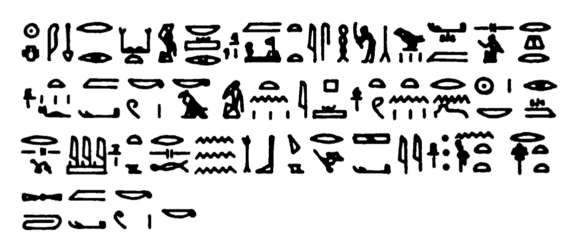
Fig. 2. NME 191



ig. 3. NME 119



Fig. 4. MM 18046



w3ḥ-ỉb-rᶜ (vgl. Nr. 2) führt hier die Titel „Priester des Horus von Nechen“[22], „Vorsteher der Leinen“. Nur der Name der Mutter *t3-ḫwtj*, ist angegeben, was auch in dem Text des Turiner-Uschebtis Nr. 2694 der Fall ist.

4. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. MM 18046. (Fig. 4).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Grün, mit graubraunem Flächenbelag.
Grösse: 167 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Geringfügige Beschädigungen an Bart und Sockel.
Herstellung: Gut; ziemlich sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für einen Mann namens *w3ḥ-ỉb-rᶜ-m-3ḫ.t* [wörtl. „(Der König) *w3ḥ-ỉb-rᶜ* ist im Horizont“], Sohn der Hausfrau *sᶜj*, gemacht. Noch vier Uschebtis dieses *w3ḥ-ỉb-rᶜ-m-3ḫ.t* sind mir bekannt:[23].

5. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. MM 10226. (Fig. 5).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Blassgrün, mit schwachen bräunlichen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 195 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Saqqarah.
Zustand: Unbeschändigt.
Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Von den Uschebtis des *nfr-ỉb-rᶜ-s3-n.t* [wörtl. „(Der König) *nfr-ỉb-rᶜ* ist ein Sohn der (Göttin) Neit“], geboren von *šp-(n)-b3st.t*, im ganzen 336 St., sind zwei im Besitz des Museums. Das zweite, MM 14983, aus grün glasierter Fayence, misst 185 mm und ist bis auf vorkommende bräunliche Verfärbungen unbeschädigt. Auch diese Figur ist ausserordentlich gut hergestellt und der acht Zeilen umfassende Text ist sorgfältig eingraviert. Die Texte der beiden, in verschiedenen Gussformen hergestellten Uschebtis stimmen bis auf die Präposition *r* „nach“ vor dem Wort *ỉ3bt.t* „Osten“, die auf MM 14983 ausgelassen ist, genau überein. Das Grab des *nfr-ỉb-rᶜ-s3-n.t*, bei der Pyramide des Königs Userkaf gelegen, wurde im Jahr 1929 entdeckt[24].

6. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. NME 121. (Fig. 6).



. 5. *MM 10226*



Fig. 6. NME 121

Fig. 6a. NME 131



. 7. *MM 14703*



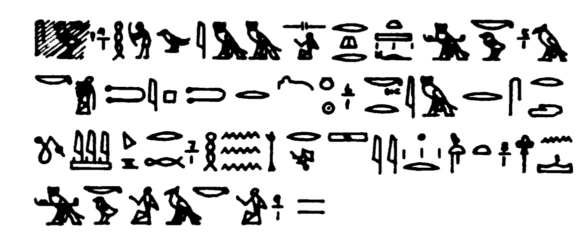
Fig. 8. MM 10210



Fig. 9. NME 171

Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Blaugrün, mit kleineren bräunlichen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 160 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Gut; ziemlich nachlässig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für den General *psmṯk-sꜣ-n.t* [wörtl. „Psametich ist ein Sohn der (Göttin) Neith"], geboren von *n.t-m-ḥꜣ.t* (wörtl. „Neith ist an der Spitze"), gemacht. Noch ein zweites Uschebti dieses Generals gehört zu der Sammlung (NME 131, Fig. 6a). Auch diese Figur ist bis auf eine Absplitterung an der rechten Hand unbeschädigt. Sie hat dieselbe blaugrüne Glasur, mit nur kleineren Verfärbungen, hauptsächlich an der Rückseite. Sie misst 160 mm und ist etwas breiter als NME 121 und trägt im Gegenteil zu ihm Götterbart, was darauf hindeutet, dass eine andere Gussform verwendet worden ist. Der schlechte wenig genau wiedergegebene Text zeigt ausserdem, dass die Gravierungen von verschiedenen Schreibern ausgeführt worden sind.
Text:



7. Uschebti der

Inv. Nr. MM 14703. (Fig. 7).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Türkisblau, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 145 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Faijum.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; ziemlic sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für eine Frau namen *tꜣ-(n.t)-nfr-ḥr* [wörtl. „Die (Dienerin) de (Gottes) *nfr-ḥr*"], geboren von *ḥ.t-ḥr-m ꜣḫ.t* (wörtl. „Hathor ist im Horizont"), ge macht.

8. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. MM 10210. (Fig. 8).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Grün.
Grösse: 185 mm.
Datierung: 27. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Saqqarah.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.

Ierstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; an dem lückenpfeiler eine Textzeile mit sorgfältig ingravierten Hieroglyphen.
'ext:

ḥ3-m-s3=f [wörtl. „(Der Gott) Heka ist ein Schutz"], für den die Figur gemacht st, führt den Titel „Vorsteher der Königchen Schiffe". Ausser diesem Exemplar nden sich mehrere in verschiedenen ägypschen sammlungen. Das Grab des *ḥk3-m-s3 =f*, östlich der Unaspyramide gelegen, wurde n Jahr 1903 entdeckt[25].

. Uschebti des

nv. Nr. NME 171. (Fig. 9).
Material: Fayence.
ilasur: Türkisblau.
irösse: 133 mm.
)atierung: 26. Dynastie.
Ierkunft: Unbekannt.
.ustand: Schwere Schäden am Kopf.
Ierstellung: Ziemlich gut; wenig sorgfältig ingravierte Hieroglyphen.
'ext:

Die Figur ist für einen Mann namens *3-dj-wsir*, geboren von *šp-(n)-spd.t*, gemacht. :in zweites Exemplar (NME 135, Fig. 9a) ist twas grösser, 123 mm, blauglasiert und uneschädigt. Herstellung wie NME 171.
'ext:

10. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr NME 145. (Fig. 10).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Blaugrün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 145 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastien.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Gut; wenig sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für eine Person *ḥr-m-3ḫ-bj.t* (wörtl. „Horus ist im Chemmis[26]"), geboren von *t3-ḫwtj*, gemacht. Eine zweite (NME 151, Fig. 10a) weicht von der obigen insofern ab, als der Text nur acht Zeilen umfasst und das Personalsuffix am Ende der letzten Zeile ausgelassen ist.

11. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. NME 118. (Fig. 11).



Fig. 9a. NME 135



Fig. 10. NME 145



Fig. 10a. NME 151

Fig. 11. NME 118

Fig. 12. MM 14701

Fig. 13. MM 14972

Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Blaugrün, mit hellbraunen Belägen, hauptsächlich am Rückenpfeiler.
Grösse: 200 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Kleinere Beschädigungen an der linken Hand, am Gesicht und an den Hauen.
Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; etwas unscharf eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für einen „Domänenvorsteher" und „Priester" *ḥn-ꜣt*(j)(?), geboren von *tꜣ-jjw*, gemacht.

12. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. MM 14701. (Fig. 12).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Gelbgrün.
Grösse: 135 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herrkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Ausserordentlich gut; zum Teil unscharf eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur gehört einer Person namens *ỉr.t-(n.t)-ḥr-ỉr.w* (wörtl. „Das Auge des Horus ist gegen sie gerichtet"), die den Titel *sꜣ nb=f m (ḥ.t)-nn-nsw.t* „Der Schutz seines Herrn in Hennensu" führt[27]. Den Namen der Mutter habe ich nicht deuten können.

13. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. MM 14972. (Fig. 13).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Grüngelb.
Grösse: 135 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt bis auf eine geringe Absplitterung an dem Sockel.
Herstellung: Sehr gut; wenig scharf eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für eine Person namens *ỉr.t-(n.t.)-ḥr-ỉr.w*, die *p-wḏꜣ* genannt wird[28], und die den Priestertitel *sꜣ-mr=f*[29] führt, gemacht. Die Lesung des Namens der Mutter, als „Hausfrau" tituliert, ist mir nicht geglückt.

14. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. NME 169. (Fig. 14).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Braungrün.
Grösse: 110 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Beschädigungen an Nase und Bart.
Herstellung: Gut; wenig sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur gehört dem „Königlichen Schreiber", dem „Priester des Min" *ptḥ-ḥtp* (wörtl. „Ptah ist zufrieden"), geboren von *nfr.t*.

15. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. NME 158. (Fig. 15).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Graugelb.
Grösse: 105 mm.
Datierung: 26 Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Gut; ziemlich nachlässig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für den „Gottesvater" *pꜣ-dj-ḥkꜣ*, geboren von *stꜣ-ir.t-bin.t* (wörtl. „Reisse das böse Auge aus"), gemacht. Ein zweites Uschebti (NME 183, Fig. 15a), etwas grösser (110 mm), fängt mit dem Wort  an.

16. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. NME 140. (Fig. 16).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Gelbgrün, mit blaugrünen Färbungen.
Grösse: 108 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Gut; ziemlich gut eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für einen Mann namens *ḏd-ḥr*, geboren von *nfr-mw*(?), gemacht. Die Sammlung enthält noch ein Uschebti (NME 155, Fig. 16a), in derselben Gussform hergestellt.

17. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. MM 14699. (Fig. 17).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Grün, mit bräunlichen und schwarzen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 120 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Gut; ziemlich sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für einen Mann nam *prj-ib-bꜣst.t* [wörtl. „Das Herz der (Gött Bastet kommt heraus"], geboren v *tꜣ-sn-ꜣs.t*, gemacht.

18. Uschebti des

Inv. Nr. NME 166. (Fig. 18).
Material: Fayence.

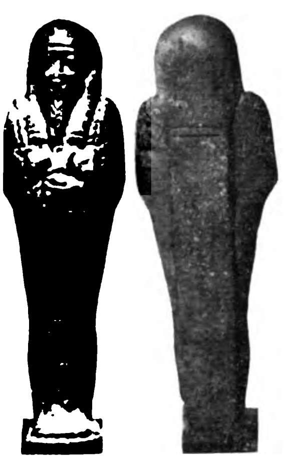


Fig. 14. NME 169



Fig. 15. NME 158



Fig. 15a. NME 183



Fig. 16. NME 140



Fig. 16a. NME 155



Fig. 17. MM 14699



Fig. 18. NME 166



Fig. 18a. NME 163



Fig. 19. NME 842



Fig. 19a. NME 173



Fig. 20. NME 161

Glasur: Gelbgrün.
Grösse: 114 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Sehr gut; etwas nachlässig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für den „Gottesvater" und „Domänenvorsteher" *psmṯk-ḥwj* [wörtl. „(Der König) Psametich schützt"], geboren von *tꜣ-bḥn.t* (?), gemacht. Noch zwei Uschebtis dieses Mannes finden sich in der Sammlung, SHM 6819:797 und NME 163. Das erste, 115 mm hoch ist an der Vorderseite braungelb, an der Rückseite graugelb glasiert. Die Inskription ist dieselbe wie auf NME 166. Das letztere (Fig. 18a), in Kniehöhe gebrochen, misst 177 mm. Die Glasur ist graugrün, an der Rückseite grauweiss. Die Titulatur lautet „Gottesvater", „Bekannter des Königs", „Domänenvorsteher".

19. Uschebti des



Inv. Nr. NME 842. (Fig. 19).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Blaugrün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 100 mm.
Datierung: 26. Dynastie.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Gut; ziemlich sorgfältig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für einen Mann namens *pꜣ-dj-sw*, geboren von *ꜣs.t-rš.tj* (wörtl. „Isis freut sich"), gemacht. Eine zweite Figur (NME 173, Fig. 19a), ist bis auf das Determinativ des Frauennamens, das stark vermindert ist, mit NME 842 genau gleich.

20. Uschebti der

Inv. Nr. NME 161. (Fig. 20).
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Grün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 125 mm.
Datierung: 27. Dynastie oder später.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Wenig gut; ziemlich nachlässig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für eine Frau namens *tꜣ-wꜣḥ-imn*, geboren von *tꜣ-rmṯ-(n.t)-bꜣst.t* [wörtl. „Die Frau der (Göttin) Bastet"], gemacht. Die Sammlung enthält noch zwei ähnliche Uschebtis, SHM 6819:796 und NME 126, von denen das erste mit der Figur NME 161 identisch ist. Das zweite misst 122 mm, ist blaugrün glasiert, mit ausgedehnten bräunlichen Verfärbungen. Die Hieroglyphen sind nachlässig eingraviert und an der Vorderseite fehlt das Zeichen , an der Rückseite die Hieroglyphe .

21. Uschebti der

Inv. Nr. NME 162[30].
Material: Fayence.
Glasur: Blaugrün, mit bräunlichen Verfärbungen.
Grösse: 127 mm.
Datierung: 27. Dynastie oder später.
Herkunft: Unbekannt.
Zustand: Unbeschädigt.
Herstellung: Wenig gut; ziemlich nach-

lässig eingravierte Hieroglyphen.
Text:

Die Figur ist für eine Frau namens *t3-w3ḥ-imn*, geboren von *t3-w3ḥ-b3st.t*, gemacht.

[1]Eine besondere Form ist die im Gewand eines Lebenden hergestellte Figur der 18. Dynastie. Vgl. L. Speleers, Les figurines funéraires égyptiennes, Bruxelles 1923, Pl. 12, 13, 16–20; F. Petrie, Shabtis, London 1935, Pl. 30.

[2]Die Bedeutung des Wortes Uschebti ist immer noch nicht eindeutig festgelegt worden.

[3]Das Gesicht des Uschebtis, von Perückenzöpfen umrahmt, und die Hände der über der Brust verschränkten Arme sind freigelegt. Uschebtis ohne sichtbare Hände kommen im Mittleren Reich auch vor. Die grobgeschnittenen Holzfiguren der 17. Dynastie sind dagegen immer ohne Hände dargestellt. Von der 26. Dynastie an erscheint das Uschebti auf einem niedriegen Sockel mit Rückenpfeiler; bei späten Figuren fehlen Rückenpfeiler.

[4]Vgl. Speleers, a.A., S.4 ff.

[5]Vgl. Speleers, a.A., S.22.

[6]Vgl. Speleers, a.A., Croquis 5.

[7]Der Titel ist stets vor dem Namen geschrieben.

[8]So Nr. 14 ff.

[9]Vgl. Speleers, a.A., S.80.

[10]In Transkription: $\frac{1}{1}$ *sḥḏ wsir* NN *m3ˁ-ḫrw ḏd=f i w šbtj(.w) ipn ir* $\frac{2}{1}$ *ip.tw wsir* NN *m3ˁ-ḫrw r ir(.t) k3t(.w) nb(.t.) ir(.t.w) im m* $\frac{3}{1}$ *ḫrt-nṯr isṯw ḥw(.t) im m s r ḫr.t.w=f* $\frac{4}{1}$ *mˁk=wi k3=tn ip.tw=tn r nw* $\frac{5}{1}$ *nb ir(.t.w) im r srd sḫt r smḥ(.t)* $\frac{6}{1}$ *wḏb r ḥn(.t) šˁ.w n imnt.t r i3bt.t* $\frac{7}{1}$ *ṯs-pḫr mˁk =wi k3=tn*

[11]Vgl. ZÄS 49, 1911, S.127.

[12]Vgl. ZÄS 42, 1905, S.81.

[13]Vgl. Gardiner in ZÄS 42, S.58, Anm. 1.

[14]Vgl. A. Wiedmann, Die Uschebti-Formel Amenophis' III. (Sphinx 16, 1912, S. 47); vgl. auch W.C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt, Part 1, New York 1953, S. 26.

[15]Vgl. M.H. van Voss, De Sjawabti's en het Zandmysterie (Phoenix 9, 1963, S. 53 ff.).

[16]Nach Ablauf der 30. Dynastie kommt das Uschebti vereinzelt in frühptolemäischer Zeit vor.

[17]Vgl. H. Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen 1, Glückstadt 1935, S. 66, 5.

[18]Vgl. H. Bonnet, Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte, Berlin 1952, S.302.

[19]Der Name eines stierköpfigen Gottes mit Messer.

[20]Wahrscheinlich eine heilige Stätte, die in Verbindung mit dem Horus-Falken gestanden hat.

[21]Nach freundlicher Mitteilung von Herrn Prof. Silvio Curto.

[22]Nechen (Hierakonpolis), Ort auf der Westseite des Nils im Gebiet des 3. oberägyptischen Gaues; der Gott von Nechen, ursprünglich Nehenj „der von Nechen", später „Horus von Nechen" genannt, erschien in Gestalt eines hockenden Falken mit einer Doppelfeder auf dem Kopf (vgl. Bonnet, a.A., S. 299 u. S. 307).

[23]Petrie, a.A., Pl. 23; Recueil de travaux relatifs etc. 29, 1907, S.143:5; Maria Mogensen, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague, Copenhague 1918, S.74:1660.

[24]Siehe ASAE 29, 1929, S.68 f.

[25]Siehe ASAE 5, 1904, S.69 ff.; vgl. auch B. Porter-R.L.B. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts etc. 3, Oxford 1931, S.175.

[26]Der Name einer Insel in der Nähe des Tempels von Buto, auf welcher ein Heiligtum des Horus lag (vgl. Bonnet, a.A. s.v. Chembis.).

[27]Herakleopolis magna. Hauptort des 20. oberägyptischen Gaues. Die Lesung des Titels verdanke ich Prof. H. Brunner.

[28]Die Lesung des zweiten Namens verdanke ich Prof. Dr. H. Brunner.

[29]A. Erman-H. Grapow, Ägyptisches Wörterbuch 3, S.410:3.

[30]Dieselbe Form wie Fig. 20.

An Etruscan Terracotta Head

ARVID ANDRÉN

The head reproduced in Figs. 1–4 (MM 1966:3) was purchased in Rome in 1965 and presented to the Museum by H.M. the King. It represents the features of a beardless man with a longish, triangular face characterized by a high, smooth forehead, slightly curved brows, a thin nose, almond-shaped eyes slightly slanting down away from the nose, with thick lids meeting without overlapping at the outer corners, a small mouth with parted lips and drooping corners, and a firm, pointed chin faintly divided, with a stronger depression below the mouth. The hair, growing far down at the nape of the neck and in front of the ears, is rendered like a tight-fitting cap on which the locks are indicated by curved furrows made with a modelling tool. The ears have a simplified form, slightly concave without inner modelling, and outlined by a furrow made with the same tool. In front of each ear is a small hole bored horizontally into the head to a depth of about 0.5 cm.

The head is modelled entirely by hand and is hollow. The clay is light reddish-grey and strongly mixed with mica, black particles of augite, and red grains of pozzolana. The surface is covered all over with a thin, cream-coloured slip which, however, does not conceal the coarseness of the clay. On the hair are traces of brownish-red colouring, on the left ear, traces of red. The neck is broken off obliquely, the break running from above the left shoulder to just below the chin and further up below the right ear and the hair on the right side of the neck. The ridge of the nose is also broken away. For the rest the head is very well preserved, except for some slight damage to the chin and above the forehead to the left, a small cavity above the left temple, where a particle of mica, augite or pozzolana seems to have fallen off, and a similar tiny cavity on the left cheek. The height of the head proper is 10.5 cm., the total height, including the preserved portion of the neck, is 12.0 cm. The clay walls at the break below have a thickness varying between 1.5 and 2.8 cm. There is no vent-hole. The holes in front of the ears were probably made at an early stage of the modelling, to mark the place of the ears, and were left unfilled probably because the head, to judge from its coarse and summary form, was completed rapidly and without great care.

The execution of the head suggests that it

Fig. 1–4. Etruscan terracotta head. MM 1966:3





did not belong to a figure intended for architectural decoration or as the effigy of a god, but probably to a small statue made as a votive offering. No information is available as to its provenance, but the head itself presents several traits indicating that we have to do with an Etruscan work of the archaic period. This is clear not so much from the archaic form of the eyelids, which appears in many Etruscan works of much later date,[1] but above all from the form of the face and the coiffure, and also from the quality of the clay. A long face more or less triangular, characterized by a strong, pointed chin sometimes divided, and by a coarse mouth sometimes with drooping corners, seems to be a cast of features developed from early Chiusinian canopic urns, bronze masks, and stone sculptures,[2] to be met with, more or less refined and hellenized, in works such as, for instance, the seated terracotta statuettes from Caere,[3] the sandstone warrior from Chiusi now in Munich,[4] the bronze statuette from Elba in Naples,[5] another bronze statuette from Falterona in Paris,[6] the terracotta heads of Apollo and Hermes from Veii,[7] and some funerary statues from Chiusi.[8] The way of letting the hair hang or grow thickly far down in front of the ears seems to have been a favourite male coiffure in Etruria in the fifth century B.C., to judge from representations such as, for instance, the bronze statuette from Isola di Fano in Florence,[9] the statuette from Falterona just cited and many other bronzes,[10] and several painted male figures in the Tomba degli Auguri,[11] the Tomba dei Leopardi,[12] the Tomba del Triclinio,[13] and the Tomba delle Olimpiadi[14] at Tarquinia. The quality of the clay, finally, with its strong admixture of mica, augite, and pozzolana, is similar to that of Etrusco-Italic architectural terracottas of the archaic period.[15] The head may thus be reasonably ascribed to the first half of the fifth century B.C.

[1]Cf., for instance, some of the fictile votive heads of the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco recently treated by G. Hafner, Röm.Mitt., 72, 1965, pp. 41 ff., Taf. 14 ff.; 73/74, 1966/67, pp. 29 ff., Taf. 5 ff.

[2]Cf. P. Ducati-G.Q. Giglioli, Arte etrusca (Roma-Milano 1927), Figs. 29–31, 32 b; G.Q. Giglioli, L'arte etrusca (Milano 1935), Pls. LIX:2–3, LX–LXV; L. Goldscheider, Etruscan Sculpture (Oxford-New York 1941), Fig. 14; M. Pallottino-H. and I. Jucker, Etruskische Kunst (Zürich 1955), Figs. 1, 20, 21; O.W. von Vacano, Die Etrusker (Stuttgart 1955), Pls. 23–30, 41a; G.M.A. Hanfmann, Etruskische Plastik (Stuttgart 1956), Pls. 1–2 5.

[3]Giglioli, op. cit., Pl. LXVII:1–2; Goldscheider, op. cit., Figs. 24–25; Pallottino-Jucker, op. cit., Pl. 23; v. Vacano, op. cit., Pls. 32–33; Hanfmann, op. cit., Pl. 10.

[4]Giglioli, op. cit., Pl. LXXV:1; v. Vacano, op. cit., Pl. 39.

[5]Giglioli, op. cit., Pl. LXXXIII; Pallottino-Jucker, op. cit., Fig. 65; v. Vacano, op. cit., Pl. 71 right.

[6]Giglioli, op. cit., Pl. CXXIII:3.

[7]Giglioli, op. cit., Pl. CXCV; Goldscheider, op. cit., Figs., 34–35; Hanfmann, op. cit., Pl. 18 b.

[8]Giglioli, op. cit., Pls. CCXXXI, CCXXXIII; Pallottino-Jucker, op. cit., Figs. 92–93.

[9]Goldscheider, op. cit., Fig. 108.

[10]Giglioli, op. cit., Pls. CXXIII:2–3, CCXX:9; P.J. Riis, Thyrrhenika (Copenhagen 1941), Pl. 17:3; E. Hill Richardson, in Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, 21, 1953, pp. 77 ff., Figs. 34–38, 41; Pallottino-Jucker, op. cit., Figs. 73, 76; Hanfmann, op. cit., Pl. 15.

[11]Giglioli, op. cit., Pl. CIX:1; Pallottino, La peinture étrusque (Genève 1952), Pl. on p. 39; H. Leisinger, Malerei der Etrusker (Stuttgart without Year), Figs. 39–40.

[12]Giglioli, op. cit., Pls. CCI, CCIII, CCV:1; Pallottino, op. cit., Figs. on pp. 67–71; Leisinger, op. cit., Figs. 50–58.

[13]Giglioli, op. cit., Pls. CCV:3, CCVI–CCVII; Pallottino, op. cit., Figs. on pp. 73–78; Leisinger, op. cit., Figs. 59–73.

[14]R. Bartoccini-C.M. Lerici-M. Moretti, La Tomba delle Olimpiadi (Milano 1959), Figs. 12, 13, 16.

[15]A. Andrén, Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples (Lund-Leipzig 1939–40). p. CXXIII.

An Etruscan Terracotta Ash Urn

ARVID ANDRÉN

The cinerary urn described here (MM 1966:1, Fig. 1), like the terracotta head treated on the preceding pages, was bought in Rome in 1965 and presented to the Museum by H.M. the King. It consists of a small, rectangular chest decorated in front with a figured scene in relief and provided with a cover on which is the figure of a reclining young man. The urn is made of well purified clay burnt a light red. It is fairly well preserved, some small pieces only having been knocked off from the body of the reclining figure, at the front corners of the cover, and at the lower left corner of the front of the chest. The dimensions are: total height, 34.5 cm.; length of chest at top, 34 cm., at bottom, 34.2 cm., breadth of same at top, 17.8 cm., at bottom, 15.5 cm., height of same, 21.5 cm.; length of relief at top, 29.6 cm., at bottom, 32 cm., height of relief at right end, 16.7 cm., at left end, 16.7 cm.; length of cover, 36 cm., breadth of same, 19.5 cm.

The relief represents a scene of combat, in which a man, nude except for a piece of clothing wound around his waist, is knocking down a warrior with a primitive plough, while a second warrior to the left is attacking with a sword and a third warrior to the right seems to protect himself with his right arm from the swinging plough-tail. The warriors have round shields and flying cloaks; the one to the left, in addition, has a crested helmet; the one hit with the plough wears a cuirass with two rows of tabs protecting the thighs, and raises his sword in a vain effort to ward off his aggressor. The relief preserves considerable traces of its original polychromy, showing that the colours were applied on a white coating, the flesh of the figures being painted in pink, the hair and the cuirass in dark purple, the cloaks and the crest of the helmet in red, the shields also in red, with a yellow rim and a circle of dark purple inside the rim, and the background in black. The relief is very blurred, which, since the polychromy is so well preserved, cannot be ascribed to wear, but to its having been made with a very worn mould.

The figure on the lid lies on his left side, his body wrapped in a mantle and his head supported by two pillows. He has youthful features, large ears and hair rendered by long furrows running from the back of the head towards the face. The figure is hollow and modelled with a tool. It presents a more distinct form than the relief but has lost most

Fig. 1. Etruscan cinerary urn. MM 1966:1

of its white coating and all traces of its polychromy, except for some scanty remains of red and yellow preserved in the folds of the mantle, between the pillows, and on the cover. Below the pillows on the right side of the cover is a small vent-hole.

Above the relief is a painted inscription, which was largely covered by a thin layer of calcareous matter but after cleaning in the museum presents the following sequence of red letters clearly legible:

θa: cainei: canznasa

There is nothing missing between the last two letters (*sa*) and the preceding letter (*a*), the large spacing being caused by the projection of the crest of the attacking warrior's helmet upon the upper frame of the relief.

The battle scene represented on our urn is repeated on numerous ash urns from Chiusi and Volterra described in H. Brunn–G. Körte,



I rilievi delle urne etrusche, III (Berlin 1916), pp. 5 ff., Pls. VI-VII. Körte regarded the scene as a representation of a national Etruscan myth, refuting the theory of Winckelmann and many later scholars who interpreted it as depicting a mythical episode connected with the battle at Marathon, where the hero Echetlos was said to have appeared in the guise of a peasant, slaying many Persians with a plough, a scene painted by Polygnotos in the Stoa Poikile at Athens (Paus., I.15.3 and I.32.5). Other scholars have suggested a representation of Kadmos.[1]

Among the terracotta ash urns originating from Chiusi, Körte distinguished two variants of this battle scene, one smaller and commoner (A), comprising four persons and appearing in two sizes, and one larger and less common (B), comprising the four persons of variant A and in addition a Fury. A fine specimen of variant B is to be seen on a carefully executed and excellently preserved ash urn in the Museo di Villa Giulia in Rome (Fig. 2).[2] In all probability the original composition is represented by variant B, in which the Fury to the left and the warrior to the right are counterparts enclosing the triangular arrangement of the fighting figures in the middle, whereas variant A is probably due to an amputation made in order to adapt the relief to smaller urns.

Such smaller urns, adorned with the incomplete battle scene, were mass produced at Clusium, as is shown not only by the great

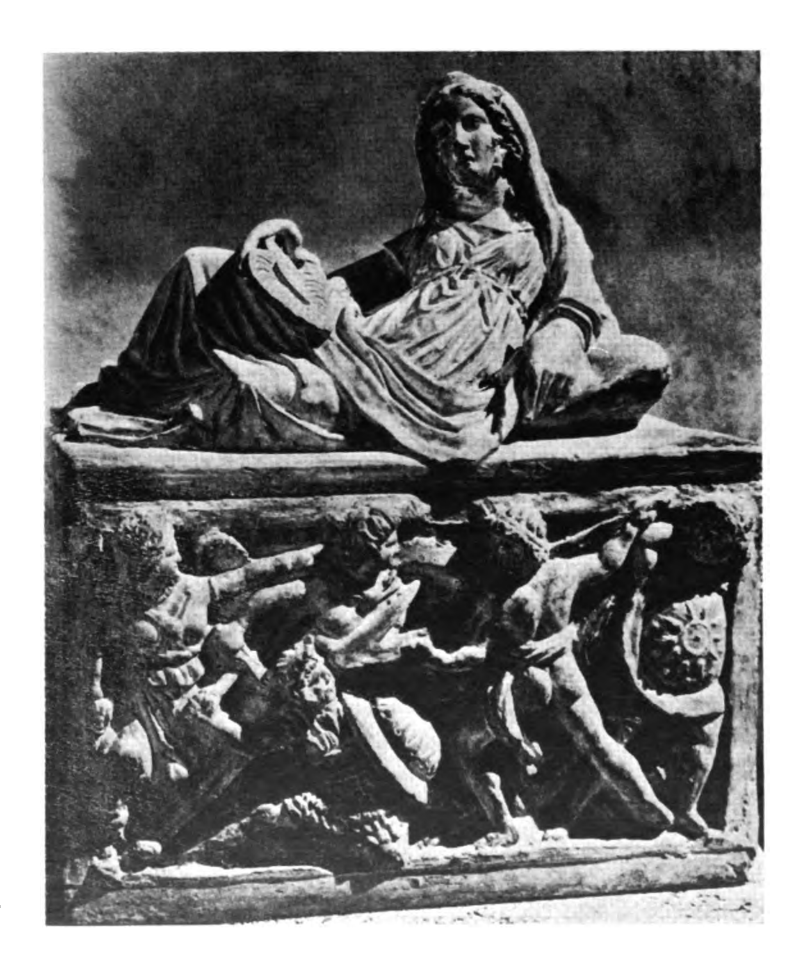


Fig. 2. Museo di Villa Giulia 25162

number of specimens preserved, but also by the different dimensions of the reliefs, owing to the use of moulds made over earlier casts,[3] and by the fact that the relief is often blurred, and, in one cast at least, traversed by an irregular, slightly raised line, showing that the moulds were worn and sometimes cracked.[4] The casts taken from such moulds were generally retouched with a tool before the firing; the dentil adorning the top of the original relief panel was sometimes retained and sometimes cancelled.

For the dating of these ash urns reliance has often been placed on the fact that one of them was found at Chiusi together with other urns and a Roman coin of the first half of the second century B.C.[5] The value of this discovery has, however, been denied by J. Thimme,[6] who emphasizes that "wir wissen weder, wieviel Generationen in den einzelnen Gräbern beigesetzt waren, noch zu welcher Beisetzung die Münze gehörte; so gibt der Münzfund nicht einmal einen terminus post quem." Considering also the fact that this series of urns, to judge from the technical peculiarities described above, was probably manufactured over a considerable length of time, it would be unrealistic to ascribe to a single specimen of the series an exact date in the third or second century B.C.

The inscription θ*a : cainei : canznasa* gives us the regular sequence of praenomen, nomen gentile and nomen uxorium, indicating that the urn contained the ashes of Θ*ania* (or Θ*ana*) *Cainei*, wife of *Canzna*, or in Latin: *Thania Cainnia Canusii uxor.*[7] Since the urn is thus evidently that of a woman, it must be concluded that the cover with the reclining male figure originally belonged to another urn. This also explains the fact that the polychromy is fairly well preserved on the chest but almost completely gone from the cover.

The glossy surface of the relief, traces of a lost label once glued on to the left short side of the chest, and the figure 10 written at the back of chest and cover, suggest that the urn has been preserved for a long time in another collection, or in other collections. This is proved, moreover, by the fact that the inscription of the urn is registered in Lanzi's Saggio di Lingua Etrusca of 1789 and in Fabretti's Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum of 1867, and is included in the Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum, Vol. I (1893 ff.), as No. 1887, with the comment that it was to be read on an *ossuarium repertum Clusii, olim in museo publico Florentino, nunc videtur perisse.* It would probably be a difficult or impossible task, however, to try to discover at what time in the nineteenth century, and in what manner – sale, exchange, theft? – the lost and now recovered ash urn left the Florentine museum, and where it was afterwards preserved, until it was acquired for the Swedish museum.

[1]Cf. A. COMOTTI, in Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, III (Roma 1960), s.v. Echetlos.

[2]A. DELLA SETA, Museo di Villa Giulia (Roma 1918), pp. 115 f., No. 25162; G.Q. GIGLIOLI, L'arte etrusca (Milano 1935), Pl. CCCCX:3 (with cover from another urn); R. VIGHI, Il nuovo Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia (Roma 1955), Pl. 76; R. BARTOCCINI-A. DE AGOSTINO, Museo di Villa Giulia: Antiquarium e Collezione dei vasi Castellani (Milano, 1961), pp. 21 f., Tav. XV; Enciclopedia dell'arte antica, III, l.c., Fig. 254; Etruscan Culture, Land and People (Malmö 1962), Pl. 40, where the urn, however, is wrongly said to be of alabaster and to be preserved in the Museo Archeologico in Florence.

[3]Cf. E. JASTROW, Abformung und Typenwandlung in der antiken Tonplastik, in Opuscula Archaeologica, II (1941), pp. 1 ff.

[4]Cf., in addition to the works already cited, MORCELLI-FEA-VISCONTI, La Villa Albani (Roma 1869), No. 968; W. AMELUNG and E. REISCH, in Helbig's Führer, 3rd ed., II (Leipzig 1913) Nos. 1635–37, 1871; L.A. MILANI, Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze (Firenze 1923), p. 164, Nos. 19–44; DORO LEVI, Il Museo Civico di Chiusi (Roma 1935), p. 71; R. NOLL, Etruskische Denkmäler mit Inschriften in Wien, in Studi Etruschi, 9, 1935, pp. 308 f., Pl. XLIII:1–2; A. ANDRÉN, Classical Antiquities in the Zorn Collection, in Opuscula Archaeologica, V, 1948, p. 81, No. 204, Pl. XXXVII; J. THIMME, Chiusinische Aschenkisten und Sarkophage der hellenistischen Zeit, in Studi Etruschi, 23, 1954–55, pp. 25 ff., and 25, 1957, pp. 87 ff., Figs. 23 and 28; Führer durch das Kestner-Museum (Hannover 1961), p. 37, with Fig.; T. DOHRN, in Helbig's Führer, 4th ed., I (Tübingen 1963), Nos. 673 and 794; A. ANDRÉN, Classical Antiquities of the Villa San Michele, in Opuscula Romana, V, 1965, p. 133, No. 23, Pl. XII; MARIO A. DEL CHIARO, Etruscan Art from West Coast Collections (Santa Barbara 1967), No. 23, with Fig.



[5]Cf. Notizie degli Scavi, 1897, pp. 101 ff.; DORO LEVI, Notizie degli Scavi, 1928, p. 77.

[6]J. THIMME, in Studi Etruschi, 23, 1954–55, pp. 26 f. and note 4.

[7]For *Cainnia* cf. the bilingual inscription CIE, I 1671: *l·alfni·nuvi cainal* = *C. Alfius A. f. Cainnia natus* and W. SCHULZE, Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen, p. 81. For *Canzna* = *Canusius* cf. SCHULZE, op. cit., p. 143 and note 3 on the bilingual inscription CIE, I 890: *ar·canzna varnalisa* = *C. Caesius C. f. Varia nat(us)*. For the nomen uxorium cf. G. BUONAMICI, Epigrafia etrusca (Firenze 1932), p. 302.

The Roman She-Wolf on a Terracotta Tablet

HANS FURUHAGEN

The large, cast terracotta tablet, no. MM SHM 4166, of unknown origin, may possibly have come to Stockholm through an art-dealer in Rome. Since the 1860's it belonged to the Museum of National Antiquities (Historiska Museet) in Stockholm as a gift donated together with other antiquities by Bernhard von Beskow, who had acquired them in Rome and Pompeii. In 1957 it was transferred to the Museum of Mediterranean Antiquities. The tablet measures, in length: 32 cm., in height: 28.5 cm.; the upper edge is chipped and so is the right hand part of it. Remnants of the painting are distinguishable. The relief depicts a she-wolf suckling two children. The scene is set inside a schematically drawn cave, a tree bending over it. (Fig. 1).

An undamaged replica can be used to reconstruct the picture: it is a so-called Campana relief in Berlin. Here the scene in the cave is viewed by a shepherd standing to the right, a gesture showing his surprise; he is Faustulus finding the children of Mars and Rhea Silvia, the twins Romulus and Remus. (Fig. 2).

This and other Campana tablets with different motifs were found in the ruins of the Baths of Constantine in Rome, where they had been used to cover a sewer and therefore could hardly any longer have served any decorative purpose. The fact that more than one tablet made from the same mould was found there might indicate that here we have to do with rejected copies that were never used to decorate any building. If so, they could be dated from the beginning of the fourth century, but the original of the mould may be very much older. von Rhoden dates this Campana tablet to the time of Antoninus[1].

Of course the she-wolf and the twins is no uncommon theme in Roman art, but there exists no composition of the group exactly like the one on this Campana tablet. There are of course signet stones and Republican coins depicting Faustulus finding the she-wolf and the twins, but here the group is quite differently composed[2]. Besides, it is more common to have two shepherds finding the twins with the she-wolf as on the short side of a sarcophagus in the Vatican, for example. Here the representation of the she-wolf, the cave and the shepherds is very much like the representation on the Campana relief. The style on the terracotta tablet however is coarser, but that might be due to the ma-





g. 1. Terracotta tablet with the She-wolf and the twins Romulus and Remus. MM SHM 4166

ial and the branch of art as such and need t necessarily indicate that the tablet is later in the sarcophagus, which according to irtius dates from about 200 A.D[3]. (Fig. 3).
The motif of the coin-types might reproce the bronze group that stood already in e third century B.C. under the Ficus Rumilis. This bronze has the twins kneeling der the she-wolf reaching for her teats. iis group is also reproduced on later coins d it is this same group that is depicted on the above-mentioned sarcophagus[4].)

Already in the late Republican age the motif begins to vary in its details: sometimes she is bending her head to lick the nearest child; the twins face one another or sit back to back or are placed diagonally under the she-wolf[5]. By the early part of the Empire period the motif has moved over from official coins and monuments to the private sphere and is found on seals and sepulchral monuments. There is however among the many



Fig. 2. "Campana tablets". Berlin. Faustulus finding the twins suckling the She-wolf. Heracles finding Telephus suckling the hind.

variants of the motif none that has the twins in the same position and placing as on the Campana tablets.

Most popular became the compositions where the twins face one another, the almost heraldic character of the group in this position probably being the reason for its popularity. One may say that it was given official sanction by Hadrian's minting and from this time it is commonly found as an emblem on arms, shields, sepulchral monuments, coins from Rome and on provincial coinages. But also in this heraldic composition the she-wolf may hold her head differently[6].

The heraldic group with the she-wolf and the twins, sometimes placed in a cave under a tree, was also used on the coins of Antoninus Pius. It is to be noted that nowhere in the literary versions of the tale is it said that the she-wolf and the children were found lying in a cave; Lupercal was a cleft on the slopes of the Palatine Hill where there was a cult place to Faunus. The she-wolf was said to have run there when the shepherds had found the children down by the Ficus Ruminalis in the valley[7]. The cave and the tree have not, like the background reliefs on Trajan's Column, served as guides to the actual localities; in our case it is a question of lending pastoral colour in a Hellenistic-Augustean way to the old legend. No doubt genre pictures like those on the Augustean well reliefs from the Palazzo Grimani with sheep and lambs or lioness and cubs respectively in pastoral surroundings with rocks, trees and caves have served as pattern[8]. Other legendary motifs were dealt with in the same way: Aeneas finds the Lavinian sow and her grunters in a cave under a tree in a rocky, pastoral landscape. Heracles finds Telephus suckling a hind[9]. There also exists a Campana tablet, found together with the others in the Baths of Constantine, which shows Heracles finding the hind and Telephus in a cave under a tree – in all a perfect counterpart to the terracotta tablet with the she-wolf and the twins and probably intended to be used as such for adornment purposes. (Fig. 2). The stories that lent motifs to the two Campana reliefs are quite similar; the founder of Rome and the founder of Pergamum were both foundlings who were taken care of by the animals

of the forest. The similarity in motif is underlined by similarities in form, the composition being, *mutatis mutandis*, identical. Faustulus and Hercules have almost the same keeping and are placed on the same spot, the cave and the tree are almost exactly alike on the two reliefs and on both tablets the child is placed in the same position by the animal's hindlegs. As the way of depicting the very common motif of the she-wolf and the twins is quite unique on the Campana tablet, the fact must be that this unique picture was made as pendant to the Telephus relief, not the other way round. There could be no other reason for the manufacturer to give up the codified heraldic group-picture of Antoninian type.

The placing together of Telephos and the Roman twins is not unique. The same constellation can also be found among the relief decorations by pteryges on an armoured statue of Trajan (Fig. 4a-b) and on a grave-altar from the middle of the first century (Fig 5a-b). Furthermore two series of coins (Fig. 6) with Octacilia, wife of Philip the Arab, on the obverse, were minted in Damascus, and on the reverse of these coins alternated the she-wolf with the twins and the hind with the infant Telephus[10].

J.W. Salomonsson, starting from the statue of Trajan, has dealt with the combination of motifs on these monuments. His opinion is



Fig. 3. Detail of sarcophagus. Vatican Museum.

that the scenes on the armour decorations have been chosen chiefly because of their formal conformity, but apart from that he is also looking for an internal bond between the motifs. It is obvious that such a bond exists between the motifs on the Trajan statue. The two mirror-turned pendants have been so placed that together with two also mirror-turned eagles they frame Mars Ultor. It is easy to understand the figurative symbolism: the emperor is the new Romulus and the new Hercules, who protected by Mars and the eagle of Jupiter personates Fatum Imperii. There were other ways of expressing the Romulus-Hercules symbolism: the reason for choosing the suckling children with the she-wolf and the hind respectively was no doubt the advantage of the small size and the love of counterparts that is so apparent in Roman taste and that can be traced everywhere in Roman art.

The Damascus coins were certainly minted at the time when the city became a Roman colony, the Telephus reverse recalling the fact that the city according to tradition was founded by people from Arcadia[11].

The fact that the group of the Roman twins has been combined with the group of Telephus on Roman grave-altars is partly due to formal considerations and partly to the common meaning of the groups in such connections. Now, to be correctly understood, this combination of motifs must be examined in a larger context. An animal suckling either her own offspring or a child was already in Archaic times a common motif in sepulchral art. Both the hind with Telephus and the she-wolf with the twins (or with only one child) appear separately in such connexions. Later, during the first century of the Imperial age, the Roman she-wolf in particular became a

Fig. 4a. Statue of Trajan. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.



Fig. 4b. Detail of the armour decoration of the statue fig. 4a.

common ornamentation on grave-altars, and it is obvious that we must reckon with the possibility that the she-wolf was one of the standard ornaments of a certain manufacturer. On the altar, Fig. 5a-b, carrying the inscription DIS MANIBUS SACRUM, the parallelism is very elaborate; apart from the she-wolf with the twins and the hind with the infant Telephus there are also birds, on one side of the altar feeding their young, on the other side teaching them to fly. This kind of altar is very heavily ornamented and an attempt to interpret the ornaments ends in a confusing mass of symbols too difficult to interpret. And it might well be overdoing it to try to interpret all the different elements as grave-symbols.

Mostly these altars were built over the graves of slaves and freedmen and the ornamentation with its heavy garlands of flowers and fruit, its little birds, swans, eagles, jugs, ribbons, suckling animals, gorgons and mythical animals is an example of how the art of the Augustean court reached the private sphere. But some of these representations had an old apotropaion character, and that is the reason why they were used on grave-altars. Even the suckling animals may have

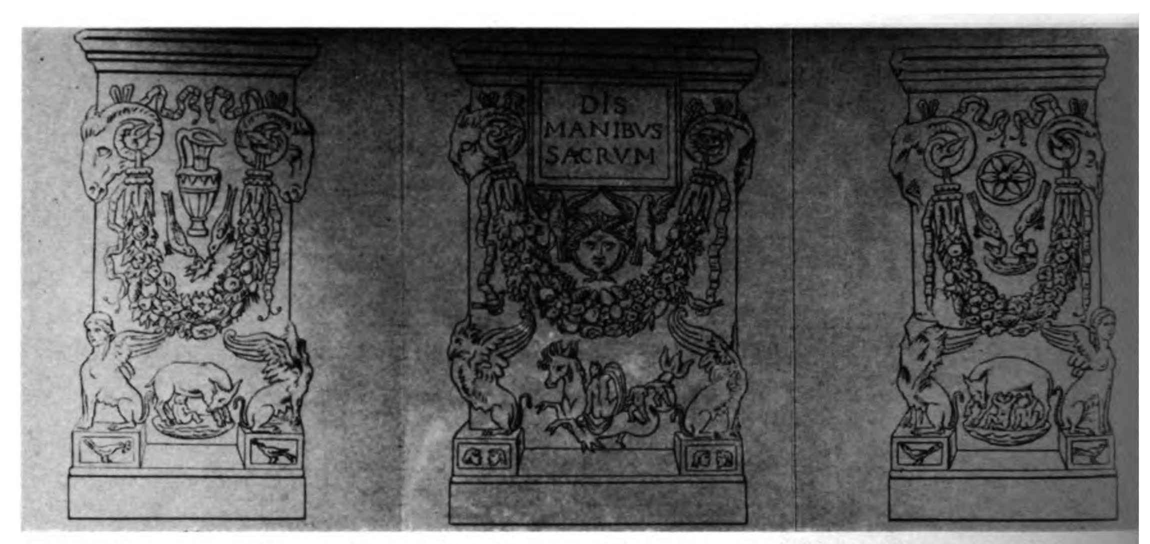


Fig. 5a. Grave-altar. Vatican Museum. After Altmann, Die römische Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit, Abb. 69.

had such power; as an emblem on swords and shields the Roman she-wolf was used for apotropaion purposes[12]. The fact that the hind with Telephus and the she-wolf with the twins both appear on the same sepulchral monument means nothing more than a doubling of the apotropaic power. But the representations on the Campana tablets are nothing but architectural ornaments, and the motifs on such ornaments were chosen from the best known mythical episodes or from Dionysian scenes. Antithetically placed figures or mirror-turned groups were very often used, so often in fact that they can be said to be the rule in this branch of art.

So it must be vain to try to find a deeper relationship between the Campana relief with the she-wolf and the one with the hind and Telephus. It is quite obvious that in this case the formal conformity has influenced the choice of motifs as it has on other monuments where the same combination of motifs appears and where the meaning of the representations also differs from case to case. The artistic quality of the two Campana tablets is not very high; they are products of industry. But in spite of that – or perhaps because of it – in these tablets we find, unmingled, some of the basic characteristics of Roman decorative art: the wish to wed the old Roman legendary motifs to the Hellenistic pastoral: and doing so by adopting old designs as well as creating new heraldic compositions. It is a play with well-known designs and shapes, one may say that it is a pictorial counterpart to the alliterations and antitheses of the Latin sentences. It seems as if the way of expressing the idea was very often more important to Roman taste than the idea itself.

[1] H. von Rhoden-H. Winnefeldt: Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit, S. 96 (Die Antike Terrakotten, Band IV) Taf. CXXVIII.

[2] Denarius minted by Sex. Pompey Fostlus 124 B.C. Sydenham: p. 54,461; Grüber: I, 926; Belloni: p. 55, 5… A. Boyce, Archaeology 7–1954, p. 12, Fig. 19. Sardonyx at the British Museum, Cat. of Gems pl. XIV, 984, 9…

[3] Amelung, kat. II, 9, 37 b; Röm. Mitt. 48–1933, p. 2… Abb. 12 (cf. the reliefs on the altar from Ostia, the altar from Arezzo, the so-called Ara Casalis and the marble fountain formerly at the National Museum, Stockholm, now in the collections of antiquities of Gustavus III at the Royal Palace. There are pictures of all four of them in Capitolium XXIV – 1949. Cf. also Sardonyx at the British Museum, Cat. of Gems pl. XV, 987.

Fig. 5b. One side of the altar fig. 5…






Fig. 6. Reverse of coins, minted in Damascus, with Octacilia, wife of Philip the Arab, on the obverse.

[4]Denarius with the "lupa romana": SYDENHAM: p. 9, 95; GRÜBER II p. 137, 120; BELLONI p. 13, 140; BOYCE p. 12, figs. 17–18.

[5]It is the "heraldic" group with the children facing one another that is depicted on the above-mentioned altars and on the signet stones. On coins see: Hadrianus (BMCE 111, 444 and 448), Antoninus Pius (BMCE IV, Pl. 6, 10, Pl. 30, 8, Marcus Aurelius (BMCE IV, Pl. 90, 5).

[6]Many variations of the motif are found on terra sigillata. OSWALD: Index of Figure-Types on Terra Sigillata, 1936, part 11, Pl. XLI, nos. 848, 848a, 849, 850, 851.

[7]LIV. 1, 5, 2; DION.HAL. 1, 32, 3; 1, 79, 8; VELL.PAT. 1, 15; OVID: FASTI. 11,411.

[8]The well reliefs from the Palazzo Grimani are now to be found in Vienna, see also SCHOBER, Wiener Jahrb. 16–1923.

[9]Aeneas finding the sow in a cave: Antoninian marble relief in the British Museum (BRITISH MUSEUM QUARTERLY 2 – 1927/28, p. 84, pl. LII) and on a medallion minted by Antoninus Pius (GNECCHI 11 p. 20,99 Tav. 54,9; COHEN p. 393, 1171).

[10]Armoured statue of Trajan from Utica, now at Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden inv. H 11 B1 (SALOMONSON: Telephus und die römische Zwillinge, Oudheidkundige Medelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden Nr XXXVIII–1957, p. 15); grave-altar in the Vatican Amelung, Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums I S 497 nr. 198, Taf. 46; ALTMANN, Die römischen Gravaltäre der Kaiserzeit nr. 48 Abb. 69; SALOMONSON Taf. IV,1. Coin from Damascus: BMC, Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria Damascus nos. 24–25, Pl. XXXV,2; SALOMONSON Taf. III,2.

[11]Stephan. Byz. s.v. SALOMONSON (p. 24, note 38) assumes that Damascus was granted Roman colonial rights under Alexander Severus, basing his opinion in this respect on Benzinger's statements in RE Band 4 (1901). According to A.H.M. JONES in the Oxford Classical Dictionary. Damascus became a Roman colony under Philip the Arab: Jones bases his opinion on WATZINGER-WULZINGER, Damaskus (1922).

[12]JUVENALIS, Sat. XI, 100 ff. VERGIL, Aen. VIII, 115. Mounting of a sword at Windonessa: Römische Altertümer in Vindonissa, Zürich 1862, Taf. 1. Mounting of a sword at the British Museum: Strong, Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara p. 488, Pl. LXXI,2. Sarcophagus with erotes holding a shield with the emblem: BACHOFEN, Annal 1868, p. 48 nr. 11, Tav. OP, 4 (Marseille, Museum) The shield of Constantine the Great on a silver medallion in Leningrad and Munich resp.: Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte 5/6–1955 p. 151, Taf. XI, 1–2.

A Roman Togatus

OLOF VESSBERG

Among the sculptures acquired by the Museum during the nineteen sixties a Roman statue of the early Empire is of particular interest.[1] It is a statue of an elderly man in tunica and toga. The material is Italian marble and the height of the statue, with socle, is 204 cm. The man is standing on the left leg and has the right one bent. He has the right arm bent and resting in the folds of the toga; the left arm is directed downwards. The hands are broken off, the left having presumably held a roll.

On his feet he wears *calcei* with a fairly heavy sole and over this a piece apparently of lighter leather covering the forepart of the foot, and a heavier piece covering the top of the foot and the ankles. This seems to consist of two side pieces laced in front and together forming an angular termination in front. They have fold-like markings and thus resemble the shoes with overfolded flap or tongue that are often seen on statues and reliefs from the first two centuries of the Empire.[2] This, however, is clearly a laced shoe and has no visible tongue. Two strokes on the top of the right shoe indicate eyelets[3].

At the foot of the statue stands the *scrinium*, a cylindrical box with a broad border at top and bottom. The prototypes were generally made of wood and used for storing book rolls or important documents and records. In toga statues, where the *scrinium* naturally filled an important rôle as a support, it is so common that it can almost be described as a conventional detail. Thus, one can hardly suppose that this attribute is any special indication of the status of the person portrayed, for instance that he may have been a librarian or an official concerned with state or private archives. Its purpose is rather to give a general idea of his importance and background. The toga is of the early Empire type, wide and voluminous and reaching down to the feet. The drapery is worked with great assurance and feeling for effect and gives the statue a strong stamp of Roman dignity and magnificence. The folds sweep upwards in soft and powerful curves which underline the representative character of the work and finally create an impressive framework for the fine head. The head, which has been knocked off but is original, is softly and powerfully modelled, and the face has decided features of portraiture. The forehead is high, the eyes large and prominent under thick eyebrows, the nose straight, the mouth full with pro-

jecting lower lip, the area of the jaw rather powerful. The hair, which fits the skull tightly like a cap, is hardly more than rough-hewn, and only on the tongue jutting towards the forehead, defined by deep inlets at the temples, is it worked in slightly curved tufts. The fine face is stamped with melancholy; it is the picture of an elderly disillusioned man. It is not the severe matter-of-fact type that predominates among the portraits of the last decades of the Republic, but conveys the impression of a man educated in the Hellenistic tradition.

The draping of the toga is only roughly sketched on the back of the statue and the head is not entirely worked out from the marble, but has a support for the neck like Egyptian statues. So the statue did not stand free, but was placed against a wall or most probably in a niche. It is certainly a tomb statue, which presumably adorned the façade of a sepulchral monument.

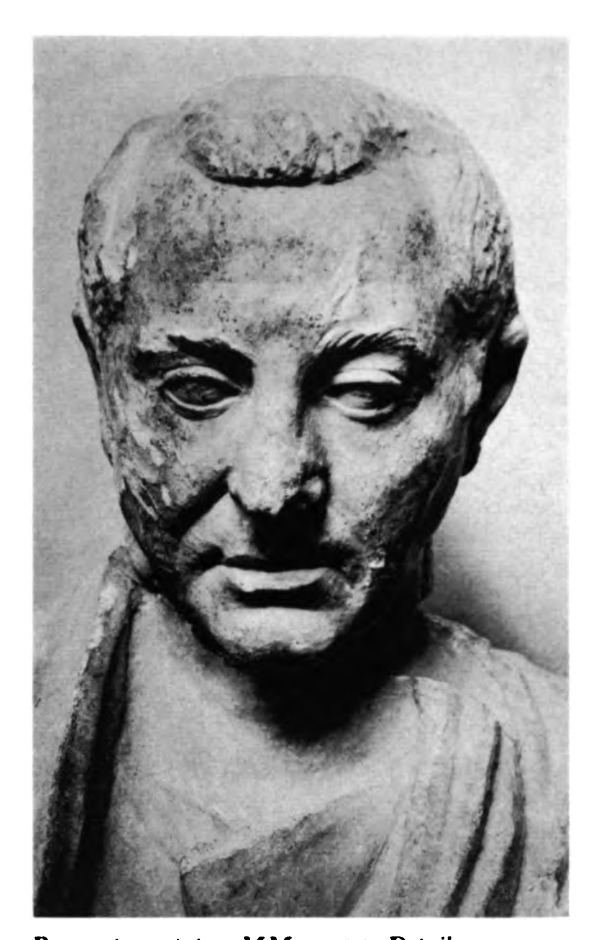
In trying to determine the date of the statue the first thing to be considered is the type of toga. The toga we see on the earlier Republican monuments from roughly 150-75 B.C. is very scanty and relatively short (*toga exigua*). It is the type of toga worn, for instance, by the famous Arringatore in the Museo Archeologico in Florence[4] or Aurelius Hermia on the fine tombstone in the British Museum[5]. The draping of this toga is not the same as that of our statue. The straight side of the toga – the toga, as we know, is shaped like the segment of a circle – is flung over the left shoulder so that one flap of the toga, *lacinia*, drops a short distance under the left knee. The straight seam continues diagonally across the back, is then drawn under the right arm in a narrow roll of folds slanting over the breast – *velut balteus*, like a sword-belt – to the left shoulder, from which the rest of the stuff falls down the back. The rounded seam forms the lower edge of the toga at the front and leaves the feet and about half the lower part of the left leg free.

In statues and reliefs from the middle of the last century B.C. – and even earlier – we find however a different arrangement of the toga. It is not draped under the right arm but is also flung, as in our statue, over the right shoulder too, and forms, in the earlier statues, a rather tight sling or *sinus* over the breast, in which the right arm rests entirely enveloped in the toga. This new fashion of toga is undoubtedly an imitation of the rectangular himation of the Greeks, which the Romans called pallium, whose draping is familiar to us from a long series of portrait statues from different times right from the classical statues of Sophocles[6] and Aeschines[7] to later works such as the Youth from Eretria in the National Museum in Athens[8] or a statue from Epidauros in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek[9], the latter a work from the early Empire, to mention only a few examples. Such a transition to a Greek style of dress is natural during the strong process of Hellenization in the Rome of the last pre-Christian century. Examples of toga statues with this draping of the toga à la himation are: the early sepulchral statue in the Villa Celimontana whose toga greatly resembles a himation[10], a toga statue very closely related to it in the Museo delle Terme which B.M. Felletti Maj dates to c. 60 B.C.[11], the togatus of the "Statilia relief" in the Museo Nuovo[12] and the Copenhagen Glyptotek's fine statue, the head of which formerly put on has proved not to belong to the body[13] but which, as a statuary motif, is still an important monument from the last decades of the Republic. Examples of the new draping with the right arm resting in the sinus of the toga (or himation) are also provided in abundance by the Roman tomb reliefs with busts, dating roughly from 75-25 B.C.[14] They also show that the toga became more and more voluminous and consequently more richly folded, and the statues show that it also increased in length.

This Greek toga draping, if we may charac-



Roman toga statue.
MM 1963:9







Roman toga statue. MM 1963:9. Details

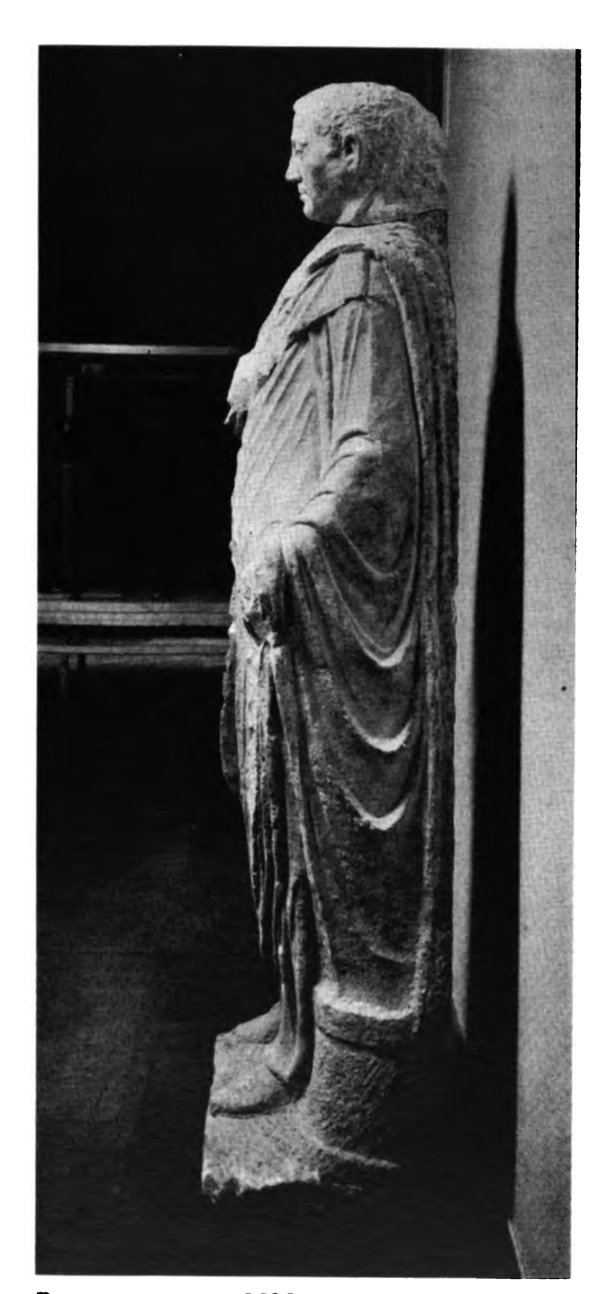
terize it thus, still survives in the early Empire. We find it in a few isolated cases on the Ara Pacis, where otherwise there is a transition to a new type of drapery that is to become the toga of the early Empire.

The straight part is again drawn under the right arm, but the wide voluminous cloth is formed over the right thigh into a pendant *sinus* and a piece of the straight seam is drawn out at waist height over the balteus to form a pendant flap, the so-called *umbo*. A famous work, the "Via Labicana" statue of Augustus in the Museo delle Terme[15], gives a very clear idea of this kind of draping. Our statue belongs to the Greek toga-drapery period, but undoubtedly to its later part by reason of the length, wealth of stuff and the broad low-hanging lacinia. The Ara Pacis (9 B.C.) is the lastest monument clearly determinable chronologically in which this type of toga occurs. But it would be unrealistic to regard the date of the altar as an absolute limit in time for the wearing of this type of toga. However, it certainly did not last long after the turn of the century. A group of four toga statues at Chiusi, earlier discussed by me[16], comes very close to our statue in composition and toga-drapery. This group belongs to the second half of the last century B.C.

But naturally we would like to determine the date of the statue more exactly. We are very familiar with the style that still pre-

lominates in Roman portraiture at the middle ›f the century. The portraits we find on the ·oins, on the tomb reliefs, in statues and busts ıre objective and lifelike analyses which by letailed observations of skin, flesh and bone ›tructure are intended to create a faithful *mage* and only in a lesser degree aim to present he personality. Here we ought to make a ·eservation. The grim pictures of aged men which are evidently a favourite motif in the realistic or veristic trend in Late Republican portrait art, naturally give the expression of a special ideal, the severe Romans of earlier times such as Cato the Elder. It was an ideal much cultivated in the literature of the first half of the last century B.C., not only – although rather half-heartedly – by Cicero, but also – and chiefly – by Marcus Varro, who in his satires extolled *cana Veritas* and whose sane wisdom and cynical philosophy of life seem to form the spiritual background to the grim portraits of old men from the middle of the century. Lucretius' realism without any illusions also gives a literary background to this realistic art.

The head of our statue obviously does not belong to this group of portraits. The surface is smoothed out and the portrait is extremely well synthesized. The face has a solid ırchitecture, built up of the tight mouth, the ıasolabial wrinkles and the furrows of the heeks and the forehead. The dissolution of he form which characterizes the portrait art ıt the middle of the century has given way to ı new stringency. This is characteristic of the ›ortraits during the second triumvirate and everal of the portraits from this period are tylistically very close to the head of our tatue. It may be compared with the head from Nemi in the Museo delle Terme[17], a very haracteristic example of the almost geometically firm portrait style of the second triımvirate, and also other works from the same ime[18]. To this group belongs also the porrait of Caesar in the Vatican, earlier called Caesar Chiaramonti, now placed in the Braccio Nuovo[19]. The prototype of this Caesar portrait was already created during the second triumvirate, when a "monumentalizing" of the Caesar portraits began. But the portrait in the Vatican has a spiritual profoundness



Roman toga statue. MM 1963:9

and a serene character indicating that the type has been retouched during the Augustan period. Our statue shows a similar ideal profoundness and its serene impression reinforces our conviction that in an endeavour to date this work we should go down into the time of Augustus. I think that a dating to the third or second decade B.C. might be most reasonable. Our statue shows very much of the ethical dignity of the "court style" of the Ara Pacis but also, in the features of the portrait, a Hellenistic inheritance of warm humanity and intellectuality.

[1]MM 1963:9. Fig. 1—4. Donation to the Medelhavmuseet by AB MARABOU through Director HENNING THRONE-HOLST to mark the Jubilee in 1962 of His Majesty King Gustaf VI Adolf. Bought in the USA in 1962. Said to have been found in Southern Etruria.

[2]Cf. e.g. MAGI, I Rilievi Flavi del Palazzo della Cancelleria p. 14, Fig. 6.

[3]*calcei* of this type are common on toga statues from the last century B.C., cf. VESSBERG, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der römischen Republik Taf. XXIII, XXVII, XXIX:2–3, LXXXV.

[4]HEKLER, Die Bildniskunst der Griechen und Römer 131; GIGLIOLI, L'arte etrusca Tav. 369; VESSBERG, Studien Taf. XIX; HANFMANN, Roman Art 48.

[5]VESSBERG, Studien Taf. XXIV:2, with literature.

[6]ARNDT-BRUCKMANN, Griechische und römische Porträts Taf. 113–115; HEKLER, Bildniskunst 52.

[7]ARNDT-BRUCKMANN Taf. 116–118; HEKLER, Bildniskunst 53.

[8]BRUNN-BRUCKMANN, Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur 519; VESSBERG in Opuscula Archeologica IV pp. 158 f.

[9]FREDERIK POULSEN, Catalogue of Ancient Sculpture in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 462, Tillaeg til Billedtavler pls. VII and VIII.

[10]VESSBERG, Studien Taf. XXIII.

[11]Museo Nazionale Romano, I Ritratti 42.

[12]MUSTILLI, Il Museo Mussolini, pl. 102 n. 9.

[13]FREDERIK POULSEN, Catalogue 528; VAGN POULSEN, Les Portraits Romains I, 28, pl. XL.

[14]Cf. VESSBERG, Studien Taf. XXV–XLV.

[15]Museo Nazionale Romano, I Ritratti 97; HEKLER, Bildniskunst 172.

[16]VESSBERG, Studien pp. 240 f., Taf. LXXXV.

[17]Museo Nazionale Romano, I Ritratti 74; VESSBERG, Studien p. 233, Taf. LXXVIII; BUSCHOR, Das hellenistische Bildnis p. 62.

[18]For instance one of the "great unknown" of the late "Republicans", the so-called Cicero in the Uffizi, with several replicas. HEKLER, Bildniskunst 146a; VAGN POULSEN, Les Portraits Romains I, 3, Pl. VI–VII; VESSBERG, Studien pp. 235 ff. Taf. LXXXI; BUSCHOR, Das hellenistische Bildnis pp. 54, 61, Abb. 56.

[19]AMELUNG, Chiaramonti 107; VESSBERG, Studien p. 235 Taf. LXXX; BUSCHOR, Das hellenistische Bildnis pp. 61 f.

This article has been translated from the Swedish by Miss Kathleen Pain, B.A., Fil. kand., London.

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